

The Nation

VOL. XL.—NO. 1036.

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1885.

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The Nation.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1885.

The Week.

THERE seems to be an impression afloat at the South that certain Mugwumps at the North are opposing vigorously, or are prepared to oppose vigorously, the clearing out of the Republican officials at the South, and especially in Virginia, by the present Administration. The *Atlanta Constitution* has a long article in a recent issue, intended to convince the said Mugwumps of the unsoundness of their position. Our answer is that we know of no such Mugwumps in this region. In our own opinion, often expressed, something like "a clean sweep" at the South, beginning with Virginia, is not only to be desired, but is the duty of the Administration. The Federal service in that quarter is and has been for twenty years utterly corrupt and corrupting, the Mahone part of it being the worst of all. To purge it thoroughly is one of the things for which President Cleveland was elected.

The Lawton incident has developed one feature which is both interesting and encouraging. Lawton is a Southern man, whose eligibility for Federal office was passed upon and decided affirmatively by an Attorney-General from the South. It was natural to suppose that the South would unquestioningly sustain Mr. Garland's decision, and Northern people expected to find his action heartily endorsed in that part of the country. Yet the fact is that, from the moment when the question was first raised, the stoutest advocate in the press of the view that the Fourteenth Amendment was an effectual bar to Lawton's appointment has been that prominent Southern Democratic journal, the *Richmond (Va.) Dispatch*, which now expresses its regret that the new Attorney-General "has gone astray from the right path of constitutional construction." Moreover, the *Dispatch* has not been alone among Southern newspapers in taking this position, which has been maintained by other journals of standing and influence. Considering all the motives which tend to make the South a unit in supporting the law officer of a Democratic Administration in such a matter, this division of sentiment on the question is an exceedingly hopeful sign. When representative Southern journals sustain the Fourteenth Amendment in this vigorous fashion, the country is furnished convincing evidence that the fruits of the war are safely garnered.

The recent decision of the Supreme Court in the Virginia coupon cases also illustrated the same tendency toward a breaking down of the partisan line in the consideration of broad issues. The question of State rights in its most extreme form was directly involved in this matter, and it might have been expected that the strong Republican bias of our highest bench would have produced a close approach to unanimity against the traditional Democratic side of that issue. It certainly might have been supposed that the one representative of the Democratic

party in the court would plant himself firmly upon the Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution, which exempts a State from suit. In point of fact, Judge Field took the contrary ground, while it was from the lips of a Republican judge, speaking for three party associates as well as himself, that there issued a rather heated protest against the attempt of the majority of the court to treat the Eleventh Amendment "as a mere jingle of words, to be slurred over by cunning subtleties and artificial methods of interpretation, ~~seems~~ to give it a literal compliance, without regarding its substantial meaning and purpose." Entirely aside from the question as to whether the majority or the minority of the bench had the best of the argument in this matter, the fact that the division was not along party lines is matter for congratulation. Like the Southern dissent from Mr. Garland's decision, it indicates a disposition to regard new issues as they arise from an independent point of view, rather than to be governed by some ancient tradition, which is full of encouragement.

The latest "Democratic outrage" reported from Washington is found in the announcement that the clerks in the Pension Office did more work during April than in any previous month in its history, the increase amounting to an addition of nearly one-half, with the same force as before. There has never been any doubt among well informed people that the average amount of work turned off every day by a Government clerk fell far below not only what he should accomplish, but also what the employee of any private establishment would have to render on penalty of dismissal for inefficiency; and this change in the Pension Office demonstrates the fact. The trouble was, that under the spoils system the political "striker" who forced his patron to give him a place in one of the departments, knew that he could keep it so long as his Senator or Representative backed him, even if he were lazy and negligent, and so he had no incentive to do his best. Now, on the other hand, the clerk is well aware that he is watched by a critical eye, and that incompetency will lead to his discharge, and so he goes to work in the same way as a man who wants to keep his place in a private business establishment. An incidental element in producing this better showing is the operation of the Civil-Service Law, which has been the door through which a considerable percentage of the present employees in the Pension Office reached their desks, and which has thus sensibly raised the level of ability.

Attorney-General Garland can hardly render the country a greater service than by perfecting and submitting to Congress the revision of the whole system for administering justice in the District of Columbia, which he is said to have in hand. There is no part of the country where such antiquated legal forms are to be found in common use, or where the statutes for the punishment of all sorts of crimes, from a bar-room murder to a wide-reaching conspiracy for defrauding the Government of millions, are in a more hope-

less tangle. Causes of the greatest national importance are constantly brought before the courts of the capital, and yet, between the involved condition of such laws as exist and the wretched way in which juries are impanelled, miscarriage of justice has come to be the rule. The matter has reached the proportions of a national scandal during the last few years, and the present Administration will secure a strong claim to popular favor if it shall put an end to it.

The idea of choosing a Minister to China from the Pacific States is open to the serious objection that the Chinese Government holds the same opinion of all Californians that the Italian Government holds of all Ultramontanes. The most gentle Californian politician is in their eyes more obnoxious than the most abandoned ruffian from the Atlantic slope. He is associated, in their conceptions, with every sort of persecution, legal and illegal, of the hapless Chinese immigrants to this country. An Eastern man holding identically the same views on that subject will have a much better standing at Peking, and will be in much better position to take advantage of the slowly awakening spirit of the Empire, and to push American interests and American commerce in that important quarter of the globe. Any diplomatic representative who goes to China with a preconception of the inferiority of the Mongolian race, or who is believed to entertain such prejudices, will be handicapped from the outset, and will handicap all the interests of his country in the great trans-Pacific empire. What these interests are, may be inferred from the fact that China is in want of all the appliances of modern civilization, and that we are nearer to her than any other country capable of furnishing them. Hitherto her rulers have repelled the ingress of railroads, telegraphs, labor-saving machinery and implements, through fear of foreign domination and possible social revolution. Latterly these fears have been subsiding. The advantages gained over Russia in the Kuldja dispute, and more recently in the controversy with France, have raised the spirit of self-reliance and self-confidence among her rulers in a remarkable degree, and disposed them to look with more favor and less fear upon Western civilization.

In the years anterior to our anti-Chinese legislation the United States occupied the place of the most favored nation in the counsels of the Celestial Empire. Our ministers had the ear of the Government. Our engineers, our sailors, our soldiers, our merchants, and our instructors were the favorites of the court, and the confidential advisers of the official class. We had had no opium war with them; we held no possessions in contiguity with theirs; we had no burning reminiscences of any kind and no trade rivalries to bar the way to a thoroughly good understanding. American capital controlled the coastwise traffic of the Empire. American captains commanded the steam fleet on the inland waters. American professors were in demand for Chinese colleges, and American colleges were sought by

Chinese students. American officers were wanted for Chinese armies. American trade was increasing and prospering in a market of 400,000,000 consumers. All this has been changed. Among the adverse influences which have conspired to place us in a position inferior to both England and Germany, nothing has been so baleful as the treatment accorded to Chinese immigrants and the disabilities imposed upon them by our laws. It is perhaps idle to look for any speedy change in the current of political opinion which shall ameliorate the condition of this class among us, or remove the stamp of degradation which we have set upon them; but we ought not to remind them of these things by sending to Peking a Minister whose very domicile is detestable to them, and whose home atmosphere is redolent of every species of outrage and humiliation upon them.

The troubles of Mr. Keiley seem to have no end. When he found himself in the Papal frying-pan he jumped into the Confederate fire, where he now is. But here he has been attacked by the *Catholic Mirror*, for putting himself in opposition to all the great authorities of the Catholic Church in holding that the Pope's claim to Rome has been destroyed by a popular vote. The poor man does not seem to have known that no vote, even about the proprietorship of territory, can stand against a Papal allocution. Moreover, he is required to believe that, in spite of the French occupation of Rome for twenty years, the Romans liked Papal rule. The only consolation we can offer Mr. Keiley is that there never was a more academical discussion than this about the Papal sovereignty, and that no matter what the Church doctors say, it will never be restored. The Papal lamentations about it will probably be kept up for some years longer, but they will gradually die out.

The *Herald* publishes a copy of the oath taken by James M. Morgan, our gallant Consul-General at Melbourne, when he was appointed acting midshipman in the navy on the 24th of October, 1860. This oath was in the usual form administered to army and navy officers, and contained the words: "that I will support the Constitution of the United States." Unless, therefore, Mr. Morgan's disabilities have been removed by a vote of two-thirds of Congress, he is disqualified from holding the office to which he has been appointed, or any other office under the United States. That his disabilities have not been removed must be inferred from the fact that the *Charleston News and Courier*, whose editor desires to be held solely responsible for Mr. Morgan's appointment, when asked for some explanation as to the oath and the disability, replied that no such oath was required of midshipmen in the year 1860, and that none was taken by Midshipman Morgan. The production of the oath itself, with the attestation of a justice of the peace at Annapolis, Maryland, is conclusive upon that point. If the disability had been removed, the editor of the *News and Courier* would undoubtedly have mentioned that interesting fact. If Mr. Morgan is still under disability, he will assuredly not be confirmed. The Senate has drawn a hard and fast line against that class of candidates, and it is not likely to make any excep-

tions in favor of the Blaine pamphleteers in the late campaign.

The principles of civil-service reform are steadily gaining ground in the filling of State as well as national offices. Two rather notable victories have been won within a few weeks in Pennsylvania. That State has now the first Democratic Governor for a quarter of a century, and plenty of old fogies in his party expected and desired that, whenever the term of a Republican office-holder by executive appointment expired, he would immediately name a "good Democrat" for the vacancy. But Governor Pattison has quite another idea of his duty in such cases. When he found that he must appoint a Superintendent of Public Schools, he looked into the matter, found that the man selected by his Republican predecessor had been an exceedingly capable and faithful official, and could do better work in the future than any new man, and so he named him for another term. When the Insurance Commissioner's term expired, he made a similar examination with a similar result, and he reappointed him also. There are doubtless a number of palæozoic politicians who think that the Governor might have "vitalized" the Democracy by giving these places to a brace of reputable political hacks like Pillsbury; but Mr. Pattison is a young man and appreciates the fact that the world has changed somewhat since the days before the flood.

The Buffalo Common Council struck from the city estimates sent in by the Mayor an item of \$1,250, for the expenses of executing the Civil-Service Act in the municipal service. They did not consider the item at all, but rejected it summarily, for the avowed purpose of defeating the law, being still the same unprincipled and shameless plunderers they were when Mayor Cleveland had to deal with them, and gave them his opinion of them in very plain English. A mandamus was then obtained directing them "to consider the item in good faith, with sound judgment and discretion, and if any misapprehension had intervened in its amount to correct it and apportion it to the probable necessities of the service for which it was designed," but admitting their authority "to alter or amend the estimate, extend, modify, or limit it." Of this authority the Common Council has now availed itself by cutting the estimate down, by a two-thirds vote, to \$200, which is of course utterly insufficient to carry the law into effect. The rascals have thus "euchred," to use their own phrase, the civil-service reformers. These gentlemen, however, as well as the decent people of Buffalo generally, will find, as New Yorkers have found, that there is only one way of dealing with Aldermen and Common Councilmen in American cities in our day, and that is to take away from them all power over municipal expenses, and over appointments to office.

The Ohio Legislature, which expired on Monday, was one of the worst in the history of the State. It was the creation of the McLean political ring in Cincinnati and the Standard Oil monopoly, and almost to the last it was their faithful servant. At its first session it contemptuously cast aside George H. Pendle-

ton, for the avowed reason that he had been untrue to his party in pressing the Civil-Service Reform Bill, and elected to the Senate the superannuated but wealthy Payne, after a canvass redolent of corruption. During the session just expired the Democratic majority passed a number of outrageously partisan measures intended to capture the political control of the chief cities—measures so bad that the Supreme Court, now in Democratic hands, was compelled to pronounce them unconstitutional—while the liquor interest had power enough to prevent the passage of any bill to take the place of the Scott Law taxing saloons, which the Democratic majority of the Supreme Court had declared null and void. Yet public opinion was potent enough to affect even such a body, which in its last hours did the State a great service by passing a comprehensive and apparently effective registry law applying to the cities of Cincinnati and Cleveland. For many years the elections in these places have been characterized by glaring frauds, which culminated in such open and shameless performances at the local contest in Cincinnati last month, that all honest men demanded safeguards against their recurrence. It is extraordinary and discreditable that a great State like Ohio should have gone on so long without even a pretence of a registry law, and it is scarcely less surprising that the duty of providing such a measure should have been neglected by so many Republican Legislatures, to be finally performed by the Democrats.

The recent local elections in Illinois possess a general interest in the evidence which they furnish of the growing faith in the high-license system as the best method of dealing with the liquor problem. The State has now tried for about two years a law which allows the fee for licenses in cities to be fixed at any sum from \$500 to \$1,000, and in the greater number of places where the issue was raised this spring the voters decided in favor of high figures. The Prohibitionists made a further exhibition of the folly which always leads them to oppose any practicable measure for checking intemperance, and struck hands with the lower class of saloon-keepers in voting for a nominal prohibition, which everybody knows cannot be enforced. In two or three places this curious combination was successful in defeating the restriction of high-license and providing for the reign of "free rum," which is certain to ensue; but in most cases the best elements of both parties united in supporting a system the wisdom of which has already been abundantly vindicated. Laws based upon the same principles have worked equally well in Michigan, Missouri, and other States in that section, and there is a good prospect that the high-license system will before long prevail generally throughout the West. There is no other part of the country where it could be applied to greater advantage than in New York, and yet the Legislature of this State seems more likely than not to relax still further the mildness of the present excise law.

The liquor problem is the burning issue in Massachusetts just now. The Bay State followed the example of Maine in making trial of the prohibitory theory, but it proved such a

failure and scandal in practice as to produce a political revolution in 1874. The Republicans in that year nominated a strong prohibitionist for Governor, while the Democrats chose a believer in license, and for the first time in more than a quarter of a century the Democratic candidate was elected. With him came into power a Legislature which repealed the prohibitory law, and substituted a system which allowed each city or town to decide by popular vote whether the sale of liquor should be licensed, and, if so, to determine through its municipal authorities how many licenses should be granted. During the ten years since this system was introduced, there has been great diversity in its application even to the same city, many places having voted one year in favor of license, the next against, and so on. Experience has conclusively proved that a rigorous application of the license plan is far more effective as a restriction upon drunkenness than a prohibitory law which public sentiment will not support; but the difficulty is to secure uniformity in such application. Just now there is a decided drift toward indiscriminate license. Thus Springfield, which began in 1875 with 158 licenses, and reduced the number by 1881 to 67, has, after a year of "no-license," gone to the other extreme and granted the prayer of all but a dozen of the 175 applicants, including a number who have been convicted of violating the law in past years. This is at the rate of one dealer for every 225 inhabitants, and the proportion is almost as great in several other large places in that part of the State, while many smaller towns have this year for the first time voted in favor of license. It would not be strange if the result should be a reaction in public sentiment which will enable the prohibitionists to succeed in their next annual attempt to secure from the Legislature another trial of their hobby, little as the cause of temperance would have to hope for from such a result.

The Civil-Service Reform Association is making an effort to arouse public sentiment against the Earl bill, which is pending in the Senate, having been pushed through the Assembly, although adversely reported from the Judiciary Committee. It is the old trick over again of trying to break down the civil-service regulations by getting an exemption for soldiers and sailors. "It proposes," say the Association, in a circular just sent out, "to allow heads of departments to fill the offices under them without regard to civil-service rules, provided they select men who served as soldiers or sailors in the late war. Under the mask of a patriotic discrimination in their favor, it is in reality utterly hostile to the vast majority of veterans, for it will deprive them of the positive advantages guaranteed by the present law. As the law now stands, every honorably discharged soldier or sailor is given a preference over other competitors of equal grade. Under the proposed change no ex-soldier or sailor, however great his services or ability, will be given a chance to secure a place unless backed by political influence. As there are probably more than ten times as many veterans as there are offices covered by the act (less than 13,000 in the whole State), it is plain to see that the object of the bill is to break down civil-service reform, by letting the Machine bosses fill every office with those of

their henchmen who may have served in the war, to the exclusion of every other veteran who has not made politics a trade."

The lengthy pronunciamiento which was formulated at the recent conference of the Mormon Church, and was read at all the tabernacles in Utah, Idaho, and Arizona on Saturday, sounds more like a wail of despair than like the cry of boastful rejoicing which the country has grown accustomed to hear from that quarter. Its very tone shows that the leaders have lost much of their former confidence, and are seriously troubled over the prospect for the future. The explanation is not far to seek. Within a few weeks the Supreme Court of the United States has rendered two exceedingly important decisions. The one, while overruling certain actions of the Commissioners appointed under the Edmunds act, expressly sustained the constitutionality of that statute, and specifically affirmed the right of the general Government to modify or abridge the political rights of citizens of a Territory, to the end of developing it into a State founded upon the modern idea of the family relation. The other sustained the local Federal courts in excluding polygamists from grand and petit juries, and thereby securing the convictions of Mormon offenders by Gentile juries. Under this latter ruling the sentence of one dignitary of the Church to a term in the penitentiary has been reaffirmed, and within the past few weeks a number of others high in official rank have either been convicted, or have confessed judgment without risking a trial, while still others have sought safety in flight.

It is announced that the negotiations which had for some time been pending between France and Mexico for the establishment of a commercial treaty, are completely broken off. Coming so soon after the inaugural address of President Diaz, in which he expressed confidence that the treaty would be satisfactorily arranged, this is something of a surprise. Yet the *Diario Oficial* makes it clear that the positions of the two Governments were such that no agreement could be reached. France insisted that the treaty should be merely provisional, for an indefinite time, and voidable at the option of either country. She also made it a *sine qua non* that goods arriving in French bottoms should be placed on an equality with those imported in Mexican vessels. Mexico was willing to concede neither of these points, and besides felt obliged to offer no advantage to France which would conflict with any of the franchises conceded to the United States in the treaty recently ratified with that country. These obstacles proved insurmountable, and the French Minister showed that he considered the matter at an end by leaving the country. In connection with the question of Mexican commerce is to be noted the rapid decadence of the port of Vera Cruz. This is partly relative, since the immense importations of railway material have naturally fallen off almost altogether; but it is also absolute on account of the increasing competition of the American railway system and the diversion of ocean freights to the northern Gulf ports. This last is not to be wondered at, considering the extraordinary dis-

advantages under which vessels unloading at Vera Cruz have to labor. To the dangers of a stormy coast and an unsafe harbor the Mexican officials, not content with providing the most inadequate facilities for getting merchandise on shore, have added such petty and vexatious exactions as to make the chief port of entry of the republic the bane of shippers and sea captains alike. Nothing but the certain loss of commercial supremacy, unless some vigorous effort were to be made to retain it, could have induced the authorities to undertake the repair and enlargement of the harbor and the building of wharves, in accordance with the plans of Captain Eads, a work which now is languishing along in true Mexican style. But it is doubtful if these measures, adopted all too late, will prevent Tampico or some other port from ultimately drawing off the greater part of the ocean commerce.

We do not know that there is any good reason for giving out that Great Britain is likely, in the impending war with Russia, to resort to "paper blockades" and "to declare the Baltic closed," except the desire to attract attention to journalistic observations on a dry subject. This must be the excuse for a somewhat absurd article on this subject in the *Herald* last week. Great Britain has never taken any ground in favor of paper blockades since 1806, and is never likely to do so. Her interests as the greatest commercial as well as naval Power in the world are all on the side of the doctrine that "blockades must be effective." To advocate anything else would be to give weak naval Powers the right to do by mere proclamation what ought to be done by great fleets. Moreover, the rule that blockades must be effective was definitely laid down in the Treaty of Paris, and adhered to by Great Britain, in 1856. Even if she were disposed to revive paper blockades, it would be absurd to irritate neutrals by trying to do so now, inasmuch as the effective blockade of the Russian trading ports of importance is very easy. Consequently, Mr. Bayard's notification to the Colombian Government that he will not permit it to blockade its own ports on paper simply, though timely and proper, has no importance with regard to the coming conflict in Europe, and was not intended to have. If "it has already been reported from London that the British Government will declare the Baltic to be closed," the reporter being on his own showing an ignoramus, our esteemed contemporary may save itself the trouble of writing editorial articles on his sayings. The Powers owning the shores of the Baltic have claimed the right to close it to belligerent vessels when none of themselves is engaged in hostilities, but no outsider has ever put forward the pretension that he might either close it or declare it closed. The Black Sea was neutralized by the Treaty of Paris, but Russia broke this up, and reasserted her right to build fortresses on its shores, and keep a navy in it, in 1871. The Sultan has still the right to prevent war vessels from passing the Dardanelles, but he can always yield to superior force under protest, and this he will undoubtedly do in the present case. That is, he will allow England to pass the Dardanelles, because she can do him most damage if he refuses,

SUMMARY OF THE WEEK'S NEWS.

[WEDNESDAY, April 29, to TUESDAY, May 5, 1885, inclusive.]

DOMESTIC.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND on Thursday appointed Anthony M. Keiley, of Richmond, Va. (first appointed to the Italian Mission), to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Austria-Hungary. On Friday he appointed John Goode, of Virginia, to be Solicitor-General, vice Samuel F. Phillips, resigned (Mr. Goode is a vigorous anti-Mahone Democrat); William M. Merrick, of Maryland, to be an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, vice Andrew Wylie, resigned; Thomas M. Ferrall to be Collector of Internal Revenue for the First District of New Jersey, in place of William P. Tatem, suspended; and George Hayes to be Supervising Inspector of Steam Vessels for the Fifth District, in place of Mark D. Flower, suspended.

The President on Saturday appointed J. Ernest Meiere, of Colorado, to be Consul of the United States at Nagasaki, Japan. Dr. Meiere was formerly a lieutenant in the Marine Corps. In 1861 he married a daughter of Commodore Franklin Buchanan. He was a Confederate soldier during the war, and afterward became a physician.

In view of the excellent records of the following consuls, the President has decided that they shall be retained: W. F. Grinnell at Bradford, England; Lyell T. Adams at Geneva; Samuel W. Dabney at Fayal.

President Cleveland recently said to a caller that all the mistakes of the Administration thus far could be directly attributed to yielding to the pressure for speedy action on appointments; that he had four years in which to transact the business before him, and he did not propose to be forced into inconsiderate action.

It is reported that when Mr. Keiley discovered that he could not be commissioned Minister to Italy he made an earnest plea to be sent as Consul-General to Paris. This was refused. There are said to be nearly one hundred applications for this position.

President Cleveland went to Gettysburg on Monday to attend a reunion of the Army of the Potomac.

The Mormon authorities have forwarded to the President a declaration of grievances and protest against the arrest and conviction of Mormons on the charge of unlawful cohabitation. Among other things they say: "We protest against unfair treatment on the part of the general Government. We protest against a continuance of territorial bondage, subversive of the rights of freemen and contrary to the spirit of American institutions. We protest against special legislation, the result of popular prejudice and religious interference. We protest against the conscience of one class of citizens being made the criterion by which to judge another. We protest against the breaking up of family relations formed previous to the passage of the Edmunds law, and the depriving of women and children of the support and protection of their husbands and fathers. We protest against the prosecution of persons, many of whom are infirm and aged, who entered into plural marriage before it was declared a crime, and have never violated any law."

United States Treasurer Jordan has already convinced his subordinates that he means to conduct his office upon business principles. He has requested the chiefs of divisions to notify their subordinates that he does not intend to make any changes for political reasons, and that efficiency will be the condition of their tenure.

The public-debt statement for April was issued in both the old and new forms. According to the old form, the reduction in the debt during April amounted to \$5,464,596 38, while

in the new form the amount of reduction is placed at \$4,837,339 71. This discrepancy, amounting to \$627,256 67, is due to the fact that in the new form two items, accrued and unpaid April interest on Pacific Railroad bonds, amounting to \$298,037 56, and the amount of increase during the month in fractional and minor coins, aggregating \$329,219 11, are treated, the first as liabilities, and the latter as assets unavailable for debt reduction.

A decision rendered by the United States Supreme Court on Monday affirms the decision of Judges Withey and Hammond of the Circuit Court, holding that the State of Tennessee and not certain railroad companies is liable for a large part of the State debt.

A settlement of the trouble at Panama was arranged on Wednesday by the Consular Corps in conjunction with Admiral Jouett, Commander McCalla, Aizpuru, the insurgent chief, and Colonels Montoya and Reyes, commanding the Colombian troops. Aizpuru surrendered, and promised, together with his followers, to retire from the city. According to the treaty agreed upon, the city, with all the revolutionary armament, was delivered over to the Government troops, under command of Colonel Reyes, on Thursday. Colonel Montoya assumed the civil and military Governorship of Panama until the reorganization of the State Government. All political offenders received full pardon, excepting those implicated in the recent burning of Colon. These latter will be apprehended and tried as criminals. The programme was carried out in an orderly manner, and the revolution was ended.

Admiral Jouett went to Colon on Friday. The contingents from the Pacific and North Atlantic fleets have returned to their ships. A detachment of the First Battalion, under Colonel Heywood, will remain at Panama until peace and good government shall have been assured.

Governor Hill, of this State, has vetoed the Census Appropriation Bill, holding that the census should be a mere enumeration of the inhabitants, and saying: "The responsibility for any failure to carry out the constitutional provision for an enumeration of the inhabitants must rest upon that branch of the Government which seeks, not to provide for an enumeration, but to impose on the people a collection of statistics which is elaborate, costly, and useless." It is said in the office of the Secretary of State that this veto will prevent the taking of the census. On Thursday Governor Hill signed the Niagara Park Bill, about which there had been much uneasiness.

In the Assembly at Albany on Thursday the Gas Bill was defeated by 52 to 64.

Superintendent of Prisons Baker transmitted to the Assembly on Monday night a communication showing the necessity of a further appropriation of \$200,000 for the fiscal year in order to run the prisons.

The Buffalo Common Council on Thursday had a long fight over the estimate of \$1,250 for the support of the City Civil-Service Commission. A mandamus had been granted ordering them to make the appropriation. They voted 18 to 8 to make the appropriation \$200, and so virtually defeated the civil-service reformers.

The monument commemorative of Edgar Allan Poe, which has been erected in the Poets' Corner of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in this city, was unveiled with appropriate exercises at 3 o'clock on Monday afternoon. Algernon S. Sullivan, Edwin Booth, L. P. di Cesnola, and William Winter took part in the ceremony.

J. R. Osgood & Co., the Boston publishers, made an assignment on Monday. Liabilities \$150,000.

General Grant continues to improve in health, and has resumed work on his book.

Gen. Irvin McDowell died in San Francisco on Monday night. He was born in Franklin County, O., October 15, 1818, and was gradu-

ated at West Point in 1838. He served in the Mexican war, being brevetted captain for his conduct at the battle of Buena Vista. At the beginning of the civil war he was engaged in organizing troops at Washington, but in May, 1861, he was appointed Brigadier-General of Volunteers and placed in command of the Army of the Potomac. He commanded the Federal forces at the first battle of Bull Run, and later was placed in command of the defenses of Washington and commissioned as a Major-General of Volunteers. He engaged in the operations in northern Virginia, took part in the pursuit of General Jackson, and under Pope was present at the second battle of Bull Run. From July, 1864, to June, 1865, he was in command of the Department of the Pacific, and in the latter year was brevetted Major-General in the United States army. He was retired several years ago.

Commodore Cornelius K. Garrison died in this city on Friday afternoon. He was born on March 1, 1809, at Fort Montgomery, N. Y., where he received a very limited education. The foundation for his immense fortune was laid in San Francisco and the West, where he engaged in the steamship business. In 1860 the Commodore returned to New York a millionaire, and thenceforth was one of the foremost capitalists of the metropolis. He bought and built ships and invested capital in real estate, railroads, and telegraphs. At the outbreak of the rebellion he took a conspicuously patriotic stand for the Union. His ships were placed at the service of the Government, and he contributed largely to the raising and equipment of troops. He made an assignment about a year ago, but his estate proved to have a large surplus.

FOREIGN.

In the House of Commons on Thursday night the budget for 1885 was submitted. Last year the total revenue was £88,043,000, and the total expenditures were £89,092,000. The estimated expenditures for 1885-6 were £88,872,000, not including the vote of credit. With the income tax at 5d. in the pound sterling, the total revenue would be £85,180,000. There would be a reduction in the revenue of £40,000 on sixpenny telegrams. The deficit Mr. Childers estimated at £3,732,000, and, adding the vote of credit, together with reasonable allowances for supplementary estimates, the total deficit was estimated at £14,922,000. This forecast of the deficit by the Chancellor of the Exchequer created a sensation. It is the largest since the Crimean war. It is proposed to meet it as follows: The increase of the income tax to 8d. will, it is estimated, yield £5,400,000; the modifications of the probate and legacy duties and other property taxes, £150,000; the duties on spirits, £900,000; and the duty on beer, £750,000. Part of the remainder will be met by suspending payments toward the reduction of the national debt, and stopping the sinking fund and terminable annuities. The rest of the deficit, amounting to £2,812,000, will be dealt with next year.

The St. Petersburg *Official Messenger* published the following telegram on Thursday from General Komaroff, despatched from Askaniya on March 27: "A telegram forbidding the occupation of Panjdeh reached me on March 23. I only communicated it to commanders of outposts, and did not make it generally known. Colonel Zackrzewski, with my permission, interviewed by correspondence some British officers in a private capacity. I did not admit their right to treat officially. I addressed my demands direct to the commander of the Afghan forces. General Ali-khanoff, with a sotnia of Turkomans, rode in the direction of Morkals along the river bank on the Russian side. It was by no means my intention to advance on Panjdeh. To march the sotnia in the rear of 4,000 Afghans was inconceivable. One company of Russians marched on the heights on the right bank of the Murghab River, but did not reach our viddettes on the left bank of the same river. When the Afghans approached, however, this

one company, by my order, returned to camp."

The London *Standard* on Friday morning said positively that England had proposed to Russia to submit to any European sovereign for arbitration the simple question whether or not the agreement of the 17th of March, that, pending negotiations, neither Afghans nor Russians should advance or attack, was broken by General Komaroff's attack upon the Afghans at Puli-Khisti. It was also asserted that England had offered to end the dispute by conceding to Russia the Lessar line under a distinct pledge that it shall be the abiding limit of the Russian frontier. Russia was reported as being favorably disposed toward the proposed arbitration. It was believed that the King of Denmark would be chosen.

The London *Standard* on Saturday morning had a despatch from Tirpuli, dated April 28, stating that the Russians had occupied Kalai-Maur, on the Kushk River, about twenty miles south of Panjdeh, and were making a military road from there east to Merutchak, on the Murghab River. The *Daily News* (Government organ) said on the same day, that a special messenger had left St. Petersburg for London with Russia's formal acceptance of England's latest proposals. A London despatch to the Associated Press on Saturday asserted that an agreement has been concluded between the English and Turkish Governments by which the latter will allow British vessels to pass through the Dardanelles in the event of war. In return, Turkey will be allowed to send an expedition to occupy the Sudan by way of Suakim, and England will restore Cyprus to Turkey at the end of five years, and guarantees the integrity of the states of the Porte.

In the House of Lords on Monday afternoon Earl Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, stated that England and Russia had agreed to renew the negotiations in London concerning the Afghan frontier question, and that the details had been arranged for the meeting of the Delimitation Commission. His Lordship said that both England and Russia had agreed that the difficulties which had arisen from the Panjdeh incident should be submitted to "a full investigation and reference to friendly Powers." Both Governments would facilitate the inquiry as much as possible. The Panjdeh district will remain neutral territory during the progress of the negotiations. "The Russian Government," continued Lord Granville, "have stated their readiness to consider the question of withdrawing their troops should the decision of the Afghan Boundary Commission prove to be against them. Any differences that may arise regarding the interpretation of passages in the despatches of the two Governments will be dealt with in a manner consistent with the honor of both countries." Mr. Gladstone made a similar statement in the House of Commons. "Russia," added the Premier, "has expressed herself as willing to agree to a removal of the Russian outposts." These statements were regarded as a complete assurance of peace. In London the announcement was received with general satisfaction. It was considered a slight to Sir Peter Lumsden.

After Mr. Gladstone's announcement in the House of Commons on Monday, the vote of credit was immediately called up. Lord Randolph Churchill, the young Conservative leader, immediately made a savage speech against the Government. He argued that the announcement just made of an agreement with Russia was a terrible piece of news to those anxious for the security of the Indian Empire. "The Government," he cried, "have made a base, cowardly surrender of every point at issue to Russia! I greatly fear that as a result we have lost India!" He protested against the conduct of the Government in submitting the vote of credit last Monday without giving the slightest indication of their policy and of the exact point at issue with Russia. The latter, he continued, had been for a long time breaking the agreement of 1873 with respect to Central Asia.

He declared that the history of Russia's negotiations with England was a record of treachery, fraud, and falsehood. Mr. Gladstone replied that there had been no change in the Government's policy since last Monday, when the House unanimously agreed to the credit. In Mr. Gladstone's judgment, any appearance of hesitation in agreeing to the credit would be a serious public evil. He had no objection to sweeping criticism, but when, happily, there was a prospect of a favorable issue of a difficult crisis, he asked the House not to derogate from what it had already patriotically done. A number of attempts were made to adjourn the debate, the last of the motions being defeated by 164 to 106. The vote of credit was agreed to by 130 to 20, on the understanding that the subject could be still further discussed in Committee of Supply.

In the House of Commons on Tuesday Mr. Gladstone announced that Sir Peter Lumsden, the British Afghan Boundary Commissioner, and Colonel Stewart had been ordered to come home immediately. It was rumored that Lord Dufferin had resigned the Viceroyship of India. Mr. Gladstone explained that Sir Peter Lumsden had not been "recalled" in the diplomatic sense of censure, but had been called home for consultation, as the negotiations were to be conducted with Russia in London. On the other hand, there are rumors that Sir Peter has resigned because his advice has not been followed.

The British Government has been in confidential communication with Austria respecting the policy of the latter in the event of war between England and Russia.

Lord Wolseley left Cairo for Suakim on Wednesday.

The *Fortnightly Review* publishes an article by Charles Williams, Sudan correspondent of the London *Chronicle*, which asserts that Sir Charles Wilson could have rescued Gordon on January 24, two days before his death, but that he wasted precious time, although urged by the commander of Gordon's Nile fleet to hasten on to Khartum.

Nubar Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, has formally apologized to M. Tallandier, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Cairo, and the *Rosaphore Egyptien* incident is considered ended. It was explained in the House of Commons on Monday that the Government found on investigation that the suppression of that paper was not justifiable, and so recommended the apology.

The Inventors' Exhibition was successfully opened in London on Monday by the Prince of Wales.

Whistler, Sargent, Alexander Harrison, and Frank Boggs are among the Americans represented in the French Salon this year. Thursday was vanishing day. The total number of works exhibited is 5,034, of which 2,488 are oil paintings.

A dinner was given to Mr. Henry Irving in London on Wednesday at the Criterion. Many notable guests were present. The Earl of Wharnclyffe presided. Mr. Irving, in his speech, paid a warm tribute to America.

Mr. John Ruskin has intimated his intention to resign the Slade Professorship of Fine Arts at Oxford. He will deliver a few farewell lectures.

The London *Standard* editorially urges that a public farewell dinner be given to the retiring American Minister, Mr. Lowell, who has always been ready to preside when pressed by presidents of councils or committees to honor them with his presence, and whose after-dinner speeches were always attractive and genial. There are reports that Mr. Lowell may accept an Oxford professorship.

The Japanese Village Exhibition and Humphrey's Hall, Hyde Park, London, were burned on Saturday. Loss \$175,000.

Gen. Brière de l'Isle telegraphs to the French Government from Tonquin that the Chinese are loyally fulfilling the conditions of peace.

Despatches from Tientsin state that the dispute between China and Russia regarding the frontier of Manchouria has become acute, owing to the non-arrival of the Russian members of the Delimitation Commission and the constant postponement of the date of their arrival at the place of meeting to settle the boundary. The Chinese Commissioners have been ready for the past several months to begin the work of delimitation. Now that the difficulty with France in relation to Tonquin has been settled, China has become more courageous and has demanded that Russia fulfil her part of the agreement. It is said that China has also intimated that she is quite prepared to enforce her claims in regard to the frontier of Manchouria.

Louise Michel, the Anarchist, refuses to accept a pardon unless as a part of a general amnesty to all political prisoners.

The Rome *Diritto* confirms the statement that Italy delicately hinted that she objected to the nomination of Mr. Kelley as United Minister to Italy.

A new opening has appeared in Mt. Vesuvius near Torre del Greco, from which the lava is abundantly flowing.

Dr. Koch, the German cholera investigator, has been chosen a professor at the University of Berlin.

Dr. Gustavus Nachtigal, the celebrated German traveller, is dead, in his fifty-second year. He died at St. Vincent, on his way to Africa. In 1863 he went to Algeria in search of health. In 1869 he undertook to convey the presents of the King of Prussia to the Sultan of Bornou. He left Tripoli in February, and in the summer following got from Fezzan into the mountain regions of Tibesti, no other European having ever penetrated so far southward. In July, 1870, he returned to Fezzan, after having passed through great dangers, arrived at Bornou and delivered his presents. In January, 1872, he undertook a journey from Kouka in Bornou to Begharmi and the slave-dealing regions south, all unknown ground, on which he made valuable scientific observations. Early in 1873 he set out for Wadai, where the first European ever seen there, Dr. Vogel, had been killed by the King. Dr. Nachtigal crossed this region safely and arrived in Darfur, which he left again just after war had been declared by Egypt, and arrived at Cairo in November, 1874. At the time of his death he was German Consular Commissioner for West Africa.

A number of people in Valencia, Spain, are being inoculated with cholera virus to escape the disease. This inoculation produces a tumor on the patient, who becomes severely prostrated from the effects in about twenty-four hours, but generally recovers entirely within forty-eight hours after the operation. It is believed that the success of the system has been established.

M. Delyannis has formed a new Grecian Ministry.

On Sunday night a fracas occurred between some Jamaicans and national soldiers at Culebra, on the Isthmus of Panama. The latter were disarmed, and afterward retired. After procuring reinforcements they returned and broke into the barracks where the Jamaicans were sleeping, and in the most barbarous manner killed twenty-five of them and wounded twenty others. Only one Colombian was killed and none wounded. The Jamaicans are leaving the Isthmus in great numbers. Their departure will delay the work on the canal. Martial law has been proclaimed on the Isthmus.

News was received on Tuesday that Colonel Otter, with 300 men, had had a severe engagement, near Battleford, on May 2, with Chief Poundmaker's force of 600 Indians, and had lost 8 killed and 12 wounded. The Indians lost about 50. The Canadians were obliged to retire to their barracks. It was a practical defeat.

THE TWO THEORIES.

MR. CLEVELAND has now given the country an excellent opportunity to judge as to the relative wisdom of two theories regarding the conduct of the public service. During the first six weeks of his Administration he followed pretty uniformly the principle which controlled his selection of a Cabinet, namely, that capacity and merit—not "claims" and "influence"—should be the governing considerations as between different candidates for office. In the seventh week he made three notable appointments to Internal Revenue Collectorships which were based upon the opposite theory, that partisan service and political backing constitute the proper tests. The distinction between the two theories could not possibly be more sharply drawn than in the appointment of such men as Secretary Endicott and Postmaster-General Vilas in high places, and such men as McMullen, the new Appraiser for the port of New York, in lower places, on the one hand; and the appointment of such men as Pillsbury, Chase, and Troup, on the other hand. The stupidest voter perceives at a glance the difference between the two sorts of selections, and comprehends instantly the diametrically opposite theories upon which they are based.

Consider the matter solely from the party point of view. Here is a Democratic Administration recently installed in power, after the party has been in a minority for a quarter of a century. Its chief is naturally and laudably ambitious to secure for it a further lease of power when, three years hence, it shall appeal for a vote of confidence. In 1888 the record of Mr. Cleveland's Administration will be before the people. The supreme test which it must confront is its ability to command for the Democratic party the support of a majority of the voters in the next Presidential election.

The really practical question, therefore, is this—Will the Administration win larger support by making appointments on the score of merit, or on the basis of "claims"? The answer to this question is found in the reception by the public of nominations which illustrate the two theories. Take the case of Pillsbury, who is made Collector of Internal Revenue for the more important of the two Massachusetts districts. The Bay State gave Garfield 165,205 votes and a clear majority of almost 48,000 over all others in 1880, while Blaine received in 1884 only 146,724 votes in a much larger poll, and fell nearly 10,000 short of a majority. This great change was due to the fact that many thousands of former Republicans, who placed country above party, believed that the Republican candidate last year was unfit to be President, and that the Democratic party under Mr. Cleveland could safely be trusted. A large proportion of these men can be won over to the permanent support of the latter party if they find that better government may be expected from it than from the Republicans, while many of their old associates, who felt compelled unwillingly to vote for Blaine, are in the same condition, now that their apprehensions of some terrible disaster to follow a Democratic victory are already dispelled. At the same time both these classes of voters can be, and will be, held to their old party relations if it shall appear

that the success of the Democrats only means the enforcement, by a new set of agents, of the old spoils theory of politics. The selection of so able, liberal, and high-minded a man as Judge Endicott for Secretary of War outlined the policy which would enable a rejuvenated Democracy to make a hopeful fight even in such an old-time "Republican stronghold" as Massachusetts. If the issue between Blaine and Cleveland could have been presented over again a month after inauguration day, the Republican plurality of November, in the opinion of many good judges, would have entirely disappeared. There is just one way to arrest this tide and to set it running in the other direction, and that is to follow up Endicott in the Cabinet with a row of Pillsburys in the local Federal offices. Endicott and Pillsbury admirably represent the opposite political poles. The one irresistibly attracts the great and growing body of independent voters in the State, which is already large enough to hold the balance of power, while the other as inevitably repels it.

It is the same way in Maine. The temporary success of the curious and otherwise inexplicable Fusion movement in that State, a few years ago, was due to Republican disgust with the odious methods of the party Machine far more than to any general acceptance of Greenback doctrines. The strength and persistence of this feeling were forcibly demonstrated by the fact that, despite all his efforts last fall, Maine's Favorite Son received a smaller majority in his own State than Lincoln, Grant, or any other Republican candidate for President, with the single exception of Garfield in the November following the local Fusion victory of September, 1880. There are plenty of former Republicans in Maine who are ready and anxious to exchange the tyranny of Blaineism for a progressive Democracy, but they will not jump from the frying-pan of Republican bossism into the fire of a Democratic ring rule which means the elevation of such political rascals as Chase, who shared with Pillsbury the disgrace of the attempted theft of the State in 1879-'80. An honest, straightforward, business-like Democratic Administration will make Maine a doubtful State; while the building up of a Democratic Machine, with such men as Chase for engineers and stokers, will assure its control to the Republicans.

The same rule holds good in Connecticut. A little body of men in that State has for a dozen years constituted the balance of power, and turned the electoral vote whither they would—in 1876 to Tilden, in 1880 to Garfield, in 1884 to Cleveland. Their ballots were given to Cleveland because they believed that he would appoint to office men of high character and spotless record. Until a fortnight ago he had justified their confidence, and he only needed to keep on in the same way to swell the ranks of these last-year supporters from among those who voted for Blaine. The appointment to a responsible office of a notorious blatherskite, who has been by turns a "labor reformer," Greenbacker, Butler man, and Bourbon Democrat, arrests this tendency; and clear proof that Troup is to represent the local standard of a Democratic Administration will give the Republicans a fine chance to win back the State.

What is true of Massachusetts, Maine, and

Connecticut is equally true of the whole country. Whether the Republicans or the Democrats are to carry the next national election depends upon the consideration which party, by its course between now and 1888, will secure the adhesion of the Independent voters. There is, to be sure, a theory that the appointment of the worst sort of Machine politicians will "vitalize" the Democracy, so that it will not need any infusion of fresh blood in order to maintain a vigorous life. The experience of the Republican party, however, conclusively disproves this theory. A Government for the benefit of the politicians never satisfies even the politicians, simply because there are never spoils enough to go around. The result was that before its downfall the Republican party in almost every State was split into two or more factions, which usually fought each other more bitterly than they did the Democrats. The fact that in more than one State the Republicans are to-day congratulating themselves upon their improved chances of victory because they no longer have the offices to quarrel over, is the most eloquent answer that could possibly be made to the plea that patronage will build up a party better than principles.

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF THE LATE CAMPAIGN.

AN Englishman who landed in this country for the first time in the midst of last year's Presidential campaign, and returned home two months later, has given his "impressions" to the British public in the form of an article in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*. Naturally those impressions are somewhat confused. The two months between August and November in any Presidential campaign, and especially in such an unusual one as that of 1884, do not afford the most favorable opportunity for a stranger to gain a clear and accurate idea of how Americans "work their political institutions." Yet this is what the *Fortnightly* observer attempted to do, and the result is a very remarkable article.

His first observation is the familiar one that "one of the great peculiarities of the United States is the absence of any leisure class. Every man is in business; no matter what fortune he may accumulate he continues in business," and at election time "every one is drawn into the fray, and ordinary business is almost at a standstill." Then, too, everybody marches in processions which are beyond compare greater than were ever seen in England. "The whole country is completely organized in military fashion for the purposes of the campaign. Brigades, battalions, troops, and batteries appear as numerous and as fully organized as in Germany when the order for mobilization is issued." It is evident that our observer never had the opportunity of a close inspection of the personnel of a campaign regiment, or stood where he could command an unobstructed view of such a regiment as it turned a corner. "The idea," he says, in summing up on this point, "forcibly presents itself that in the event of any internal disturbance or alarm of attack from without, this elaborate organization would be promptly turned to serious account." A story is told by James Russell Lowell, in his delightful essay on "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago," of a venerable Harvard

President who granted the request of the college militia to go to Boston for a general training, and added, with a twinkle in his eye: "Young gentlemen, have you made arrangements for having your muskets brought home in the evening?" The muskets were the property of the State, and the college was responsible for them. In case a campaign regiment were to be turned to "serious account" against an "internal disturbance" or "attack from without," it would be necessary to provide some means for bringing home the tin battle-axes, pasteboard helmets, and waving white hemp plumes which the mobilized brigades and batteries would carry into the fray.

The first Republican procession of dry-goods men made a great impression upon the visitor, who comments upon it with much shrewdness. There were a thousand of them, he says, and "those in the rear, who were too far from the band to march in time to the music, kept step to shrill and continuous cries of 'J!—G!—Blaine!—O!—Hi!—O!—J!—G!—Blaine!—O!—Hi!—O!'" The effect of hundreds of voices repeating this sharp cry was most remarkable, but I should doubt the Republican party having secured a single extra vote by its monotonous repetition or by any other feature of the demonstration." His observation did not go deep enough to discover the fact that this "monotonous repetition" was the beginning and end of the Republican principle at stake in the election.

One of the most lucid passages in the article is that devoted to Tammany and the part played by it in the campaign. We will not attempt to condense this: "As regards the Tammany Hall business, probably no one but a New York wire-puller could understand all the ins and outs of what took place. The most that could be learned by the uninitiated was that the leaders of Tammany Hall, which is a very old political and Democratic club in New York, sought to obtain the support of the managers of the Presidential election in appointing such city officers at the October election as would give them the control of the municipal administration and the valuable patronage connected with it. The position taken up by Tammany evidently puzzled the party leaders." We are unable to see how the "uninitiated" could have hoped to learn more than that, for there are several things in it which even a New York wire-puller never suspected before.

On the question of the use of money in elections, the observer contributes a large amount of new and rather startling information. "The actual purchase for money of single votes" is, he says, "of course useless and unknown," but there are "well-known methods of influencing whole classes and communities." One of these well-known methods is the "River and Harbor Steal," and this is the way in which our observer says that it works:

"Very considerable sums of public money which were some time ago assigned for the improvement of rivers and harbors, were expressly intrusted to individuals who are stated to have employed them solely for the purpose of influencing political votes. This subject was a very favorite one for Democratic journalism; and it was asserted that the Republican managers had promised, if returned to power, a further similar 'steal' to encourage their supporters in certain wavering localities."

The most striking portion of the article is that

devoted to the celebrated Gould-Field-Blaine dinner, that followed so closely upon the heels of the Burchard incident with which it is destined to be inseparably linked in political history. The observer has an entirely new theory of this banquet, and we are not prepared to say that it is not the correct one. He declares that instead of the dinner being given to Mr. Blaine by his rich admirers, it was given by Mr. Blaine to them. Here is the notable passage in which this announcement is made:

"Mr. Blaine's personal connection with the railway monopolists was of course made a ground of special attack, and the large grants of public lands made to railway companies by the Republican Government were said to have been awarded for corrupt purposes. Mr. Blaine himself evidently valued the support of the great railway financiers sufficiently to induce him to disregard such insinuations; and he excited public curiosity by a great dinner given at Delmonico's in the end of October to the leading capitalists. New York society was particularly exercised as to Mr. Blaine's object in assembling the great moneyed interest around him at the famous restaurant, and extraordinary statements appeared in the newspapers as to the number of millions represented at the dinner-table. It was maintained by some that the Presidential candidate desired to impress the business community at large by a sign of the confidence reposed in him by his remarkable guests; but the more prevailing and perhaps the more correct idea was that the invitation of the millionaires was simply a little plot to squeeze them for further contributions to the dire necessities of the Republican campaign fund. Speculation was rife as to how the great men took the squeezing and the amount in which each individual was mulcted; and many witticisms were indulged in at their expense, on the supposition that they had all been more or less entrapped by the 'smartness' of the famous J. G. Blaine."

The article concludes with casual and appreciative allusions to the part played in the campaign by Benjamin F. Butler and Belva Lockwood, who are dismissed with the finely comprehensive remark that "they were neither of them of real political importance." The effect of the "impressions" upon the American reader is of wonder, not so much at the amusing mistakes made, as that a stranger could make any accurate observations at such a time.

ARBITRATION.

MR. GLADSTONE has virtually announced that all danger of war has passed, owing to the Russian acceptance of his proposal to refer to the arbitration of some European sovereign—it is rumored the King of Denmark—the question whether the Russians were to blame for the fight at Panjdeh, or in other words, for a violation of the Boundary Convention. It is now said that Russia agrees to arbitration if the question submitted to the arbitrators be, not whether Russia is to blame, but who is to blame for the Panjdeh affair. The matter is one peculiarly suitable for arbitration because the question to be submitted is rather one of self-love, or what is called "honor," than of either loss or gain. It is exceedingly difficult, in the existing condition of human nature, to get two powerful nations to submit to the peaceful decision of a third party any question involving territory or money on a large scale. The success of the plan in the case of the San Juan boundary line was largely due to the smallness and remoteness of the territory in dispute. Its success in the case of the Alabama claims was largely due to the openly-expressed American determination to retaliate in kind whenever England was en-

gaged in a foreign war. This weighted English diplomacy heavily in all European complications, and was counted on by her Continental neighbors. To be able to get rid of the danger by payment of a round sum in cash was, therefore, a very valuable opportunity, of which Mr. Gladstone had the wisdom to avail himself. But if the question had been simply and solely whether the United States or Great Britain should pay \$15,000,000 in cash, it is very doubtful whether public opinion in England would have sanctioned arbitration. As it was, the Gladstone Ministry was undoubtedly weakened, and its overthrow in 1874 in part caused, by the arrangement.

The great difficulty in the way of settling international disputes by arbitration in Europe to-day is the danger of being thought afraid to fight. This is the almost inevitable concomitant of the military system of the great Powers, and of the extent to which every one of them holds property or dominion of some sort by the strong hand. There is not one of them which is not in possession of something to which its neighbors question its title. To provide for this state of mutual distrust, great armies and fleets are maintained, and in order to keep them in good fighting order every government has to cultivate a condition of military touchiness. If it did not, if it showed readiness to pocket insults and to let small injuries pass without notice, the army and navy would be humiliated and lose heart. It would seem as if the Government dared not use them, and the sympathy of the people with them would be so great that the whole country would be plunged in shame and sorrow. Consequently even the most peace-loving ruler, even a man like Gladstone, when put at the head of an empire which holds millions of people in subjection by the power of the sword, has to put on more or less swagger, and either twist his moustache or pull up his shirt collar when he gets into a dispute with a foreign government about anything. No matter how trifling the matter in controversy may be, policy, or what is called "prestige," compels him to keep telling people that, trifling as it is, he is quite ready to fight over it, if need be, and that the slaughter of tens of thousands of young men, and the waste of millions of treasure, have no more terrors for him than for anybody else. This attitude, too, is forced on him by nearly all foreign critics. As a general rule, neutrals are always in favor of having international disputants go to war, and the neutral press stimulates their animosity by encouragement and taunts. Neutrals like the spectacle of a fight which is going to cost them nothing, and they generally think they will make pots of money out of the belligerents in one way or another. Consequently any sign of unwillingness to fight generally draws forth a shower of jeers, which not only touches the old animal pride of the peace-loving country, but fills its people with a vague fear that if it does not fight now, it will lose its "prestige," and be "put upon" in some dreadful way at a later period. There is no argument which military men use with more effect in getting up wars than this. They always maintain that now is the time to fight, if you want only a little fighting, and at a comparatively small cost. If you do not, they say, the war will be simply

postponed, and will be far more terrible when it comes, because your enemy will probably be reinforced by others who will be led by your pusillanimous conduct on this occasion to believe that you are an easy prey, and that they can, by joining in the attack on you, have some share of the spoils.

Against all these forces Mr. Gladstone has to contend at the present moment. Military opinion is a great social and political force in London and in the House of Commons. In India it is omnipotent. Probably the whole weight of Indian influence on home opinion is thrown to-day on the side not only of war but of speedy war. Moreover, the Conservatives are disposed to consider the proposed arbitration a sort of fraud on them, inasmuch as when they voted the large credit they supposed the Ministry meant to fight; and they maintain that when Mr. Gladstone asked for the money he knew there would be no fight. Accordingly the Tory papers are filled with lamentations over the fresh humiliation of England, and about the drugging of the nation by the Gladstonian rhetoric. It must be remembered that if Russia and England were to fight for five years, they would probably end by calling on some arbitrator to fix the boundary line between the Afghans and the Turcomans. England could not have a boundary line of her own, and then maintain an army on it to see that the Russians did not cross it. In other words, the war would end in just such an arrangement as Gladstone is now making, and everybody would be satisfied with it. But so strong are the barbarous instincts of the race, even among the more civilized nations, that probably a very large proportion of the English people to-day do not like it, simply because it has not been preceded by extensive human slaughter, the burning of large numbers of merchantmen, and the wasting of great tracts of country by fire and sword. They want to see the attention of the civilized world distracted for a year or two from commerce, and art, and science, and literature, and invention, in order to count the mangled corpses on great battle-fields, and rejoice over the number of buildings destroyed and ships sunk. They want to see the Russian clergy thanking Almighty God for the slaughter of so many Englishmen, and the English clergy praying to Him to help the English gunners to kill plenty of Russians with the least possible loss to themselves, and fill the land with widows and orphans whom nobody else will take care of.

THE PULLMAN EXPERIMENT.

Two recently published reports of State Bureaus of Labor and Statistics—those of New Jersey and of Illinois—have inserted as an appendix to the respective volumes a special report on the organization of labor created by the town and works of Pullman, in the vicinity of Chicago. This establishment, representing probably the most notable existing combination of labor and capital in the world, was made the subject of a special examination by the chiefs of thirteen State Bureaus in June, 1884, whose report is annexed to the volumes referred to. Descriptions of the town of Pullman have been made

from time to time by many competent writers, one of whom, Mr. R. T. Ely, gave an exceedingly graphic picture in *Harper's Magazine* for February last, accompanied by some philosophical reflections not exactly favorable to the experiment. The report of the bureau is more thorough and complete than that of Mr. Ely, and differs from the conclusions reached by that gentleman as to the effect upon the laboring classes, and upon the progress of industry, of "a gilded cage" for the workingman as compared with a repulsive and forbidding one.

The population of the town of Pullman consists of 8,513 persons of various nationalities, about one-half being natives of the United States and the remainder from Canada and various countries in Europe. The chief industry of the place is the building of railway cars. The idea at the bottom of the enterprise was neither philanthropy nor avarice, but an intelligent conception that the highest rate of profit for capital was consistent with the highest state of comfort for labor. Conjoined to this idea, and a necessary part of it, was the belief that tasteful houses, clean rooms and streets, good drainage, free libraries, cheap and wholesome amusements, good schools, churches, bazaars, and markets, would attract and retain the best and most intelligent class of workingmen, would lessen the tendency on their part to "strike," and would thus in the long run pay the extra expense involved in providing such unaccustomed luxuries for wage-workers. The result has proved the accuracy of this prevision. Shortly after the heavy expense had been incurred of building a large town on a plan of high architectural merit and "with all the modern improvements," the present business reaction set in. The Pullman Company had no monopoly privileges to give it an advantage in the race of competition with other car builders. It was compelled to meet falling prices and dull times in the same way as other manufacturers. It has had no adventitious aids of any kind. On the other hand, it has had a vastly larger capital to provide dividends upon than any competitor—a capital in bricks and mortar, in plumbing and paving, in decoration of all sorts, in churches and school-houses, in theatres and libraries, and other presumable waste, which no other establishment was encumbered with. If the hard times had pulled down the Pullman Company as a financial enterprise, everybody would have said that its ruin was the natural and inevitable consequence of a chimerical attempt to better the condition of the working classes and to make a great show.

Nothing of the kind has happened. It has borne the strain with entire success, not without difficulty perhaps, but without disturbance and without strikes. It has been compelled to reduce wages, but these reductions have been made upon a presentation of all the facts relating to the state of the markets, the prices obtainable for cars, the cost of raw materials, etc. There has been no intervention of trades unions, no assistance from professional labor reformers and socialist spouters to enable the men to discover their rights. By drawing to his establishment a class of men capable of forming their own opinions as to the state of the markets, and able to understand that the rate of wages is not an arbitrary

sum decreed in the counting-room, but the resultant of forces working outside, and beyond the control of either employers or employees, Mr. Pullman has secured himself the first and most important factor in the successful conduct of any business. It is said that the common opinion among the workmen now is, that Mr. Pullman is merely the agent employed by them to secure steady work at such wages as the car-building trade will afford.

It has been no part of Mr. Pullman's plan to furnish anything for nothing. The workmen must pay a rent corresponding to the actual value of their apartments; they must pay for the schooling of their children and for their seats in church, and for their admission to the theatre, and for everything they have and enjoy as much as they would pay anywhere, and as much as the privileges are worth. No sense of obligation rests upon them; they are free to come and go at their pleasure. Only one restriction is imposed upon them—they cannot procure strong drink in the town, and no habitual drunkard is allowed to rent an apartment or to be employed in the place. In view of the great results accomplished, the Commissioners who made the examination last June say that it is a matter of secondary concern whether the experiment is pushed forward another stage, to the end of giving the laborers a share of the profits of the company. So much has been done for them that the future may be trusted to care for itself.

THE LOCALITIES OF AUTHORSHIP.

We suggested in these columns, a few weeks ago, a compilation from travellers' diaries; we would now urge on any one who has a taste for compiling, to make a volume bringing before us the scenes in which famous works have been written. As Mr. Morley has said: "It is always interesting to know the circumstances under which pieces that have moved the world were originally composed"; and often there is a striking dramatic contrast, sometimes a beautiful harmony, between the work itself and the circumstances of its composition, which one finds it worth while to become aware of.

Authors are fond of picturing to us their moments of inspiration, and the records of them are numerous. Those of Rousseau, naturally, are among the foremost, and it was they that occasioned the sentence we have quoted from his biographer. We know how he was walking along the road from Paris to Vincennes one hot summer afternoon, going to visit Diderot, then in prison for his 'Letter on the Blind,' when, seeing in a newspaper the theme proposed by the Dijon Academy, his hitherto unembodied genius instantaneously asserted itself "with a force and confusion that threw me into unspeakable agitation." Diderot, when they met, perceiving his excitement, "I told him the cause of it; and I read him the *protopopoeia* of Fabricius, written in pencil under an oak. He urged me to give wing to my ideas and to compete for the prize. I did so, and from that moment I was lost. All the rest of my life and my misfortunes were the inevitable result of that hour of bewilderment." In other words, from that moment he was a leader of men.

Of Gibbon, whose great work made him not a leader of men but a master of students, we have perhaps heard quite enough concerning "the moment of conception" and "the hour of my final deliverance"; quite enough about "the ruins of the Capitol," and "the barefooted friars," on the

15th October, 1764, and "the summer-house in my garden," and "the *berceau*, or covered walk of acacias, . . . on the day, or rather night, of the 27th June, 1787, . . . when all nature was silent." But we shall never hear enough of (what he himself does not tell us) the ruffles and powder in which he was wont in his solitude to array himself for the majestic presence of his history—an admirable contrast to the Dominican robes and lamp-lit rooms in which Balzac wrote the "*Comédie Humaine*"—just as our interest is insatiable in hearing from Mme. de Genlis that Rousseau told her that "he wrote all the letters of Julie on pretty little note-paper with vignettes, which he afterward folded as letters and re-read on his walks with as much delight as if he had received them from an adored mistress." This power of acting his characters to himself reminds one of what was told the other day of Mr. Dickens by his daughter, in an article in the *Cornhill*. She describes being with him, when a child, in his working hours, and seeing him spring up from his writing-table and go to a mirror to bring before himself more vividly, by dispositions of his own face and figure, the looks an! ways of the personage he was creating.

But to return to localities. It is interesting to know that George Eliot wrote '*Adam Bede*,' full as it is of England, in a foreign land, at Munich; and it is perhaps even more interesting to know that George Sand wrote '*Jacques*,' which Lord Acton calls "the most ignominious" of her stories, '*André*,' one of the most plaintive of her idylls, and, as she herself described it, "the least complicated and most indolent of fictions," and '*Léone Léoni*,' the counterpart of '*Manon Lescaut*,' all in Venice in rapid succession. She was there in solitude and desolation; the carnival was roaring and whistling together with the icy wind outside her great dreary apartment in the Palazzo Nasi. She sought by the help of imagination to escape from melancholy, and, she says, "I began at haphazard a romance which opened by a description of the place, of the gayety without and of my solemn apartment"; it was finished in a week, and the breath of her life still quickens it after fifty years.

Passing over the prison within whose walls Bunyan entered into the "large upper-chamber whose window opened towards the sun-rising: the name of the chamber was Peace," let us turn to the poets, and to Burns's exquisite account of the "bonnie, sweet, sonsie lass"—his fellow-laborer in the harvest field in his fifteenth autumn—who, a year younger than himself, first inspired him with love and poetry. "She sang sweetly, and it was her favorite reel to which I attempted" to vent in rhyme the emotion with which "I looked and fingered over her little hand, to pick out the cruel nettle-stings and thistles." The pendant to this, which may be found in Mrs. Burns's account of the circumstances connected with the writing of "To Mary in Heaven," is infinitely touching. She told how, on a frosty autumn evening after a day spent in harvest work, he appeared, as the twilight deepened, to grow "very sad about something," and she found him slowly striding up and down the barnyard contemplating the sky, which was singularly clear and starry. When he entered the house he immediately wrote the verses exactly as they now stand, as if copying from memory—

"Thou lingering star, with lessening ray."

Turning to a lesser man, we know that Lodge, one of the sixteenth-century singers, wrote his fine and glowing lines to "*Rosaline*" on a voyage to "the islands of Terceras and the Canaries," which gives occasion to Mr. Palgrave to shape a somewhat far-fetched eulogium of them in which "those southern seas" and "the almost contem-

porary art of Venice" play a rather remarkable part—after a fashion we trust our compiler will not imitate. And the lovers of Spenser are reconciled to the thought of the stately and odorous flower of his great poem growing on the "savage soyle" of Ireland by the pretty picture he makes, in "Colin Clout's come home again," of reciting his verses to Sir Walter Raleigh:

"Amongst the coolly shade
Of the green alders by the Mullacs shore."

We have gone wandering carelessly through France and England, but our happy compiler should carefully seek out in Italy, Spain, and Germany the self-revelations concerning their works of the creators of the '*Divina Commedia*,' '*Don Quixote*,' and '*Faust*.' With regard to Dante, he might be aided by a dry but interesting little volume by Ampère, '*Voyages Dantesques*.' And when he is busying himself with Goethe let him not forget the passage in the '*Italienische Reise*' where he speaks of his "*griechische Reisegefährtin*." "At the Lago di Garda," he says, "while the strong south wind drove the waves against the shore, and I was not less alone than my heroine on the coast of Tauris, I first sketched her in, and carried on the work afterward at Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and most diligently at Venice. Then it came to a standstill, for I was drawn to a new conception, namely, of writing an '*Iphigenia at Delphos*,' which I should immediately have done if I had not been prevented by distractions and by a feeling of duty toward the older piece."

THE SPOILS SYSTEM IN FRANCE.

PARIS, April 22.

THE downfall of Jules Ferry took not only France, but Europe, by surprise. Only two days before he fell he had obtained a vote of confidence from the Chamber; he had been in power for two years, and it seemed almost certain that he would continue to remain in power till the dissolution and the general elections. He was negotiating with England on the subject of Egypt; the International Conference on the Isthmus of Suez had just begun its work in Paris, under his presidency. He had succeeded in getting in the diplomatic world a status which none of his predecessors had obtained. Even his enemies were beginning to say that there was more real strength in him, more logic, more character than in Gambetta; he was recognized as one of those leaders who are able to conduct the affairs of a great country. The war against the congregations was almost forgotten, as well as the remodelling of the magistracy and the attack on the principle of the unremovability of the judges. Jules Ferry had imprudently wished to revise the Constitution, but was able to limit the revision within narrow bounds. In every field he seemed to be successful, when the news came to Paris, on a Sunday afternoon, that our troops were in full retreat in Tonquin, General Négrier was wounded, and General Brière de l'Isle telegraphed that he hoped to be able to preserve the Delta of the Red River. The consternation created by this news was great; "Sedan" was in everybody's mouth. The boulevard was black with people, who assured each other that none of the French soldiers would ever come back from Tonquin; that the fatal expedition to that distant land would end in a national disaster. The Chamber met the next day, under the influence of these sentiments, and Ferry fell without a struggle. Without a word he left the Chamber, amid a tempest of screams, of insults, of threats, and offered his resignation to the President of the Republic. Could he have done otherwise! You will know, says a proverb, the good pilot in a tempest. Ferry did not face the

tempest; he submitted like a man who thinks that you cannot reason with madness.

Time has shown that the Chamber was mad on that eventful Monday which followed the bad news from Tonquin; it has shown that the bad news was much exaggerated, that the retreat of the French column, which had, perhaps imprudently, gone as far as the frontier of Yunnan, did not end in a complete disaster, that the loss of Langson did not mean the loss of the Delta. Time has shown, also, that at the very moment when Jules Ferry was conducting the war in Tonquin with a vigor which had its dangers, he was also conducting negotiations for peace; and the instrument of peace, such as it is, is now in the hands of his successors. If I speak of this ministerial change, it is not in order to repeat what everybody knows at the present hour; but, in my opinion, the defeat in Tonquin was only a pretext—it was the lever in the hands of the Chamber. The real field of battle between Ferry and the Chamber was a question of patronage; it was the question which the American people have had recently to examine, and which in the United States goes under the name of civil service reform.

Jules Ferry has in reality fallen by the same secret forces as Gambetta. The present Chamber was elected by what is called the *scrutin d'arrondissement*. The elector, in this system, votes not for a ticket but for a man. This man, once elected, becomes, or tries to become, a tyrant in his arrondissement. In order to secure his future election he must fill it with his creatures. Everything must give way to that necessity. Gambetta had a great dislike of this system; he felt that the ministers could have no force as long as they depended on deputies who consulted only their private interests. The arrondissement deputy has established his fatal influence; all the interests of his electors are centred in him; he takes care of them as if they were his own interests. If you go into the antechamber of a minister, you will find a dozen people waiting patiently, humbly for their turn. Suddenly a man comes in, the *huissiers* rise as if they were pulled by a string; it is a deputy. All the doors are opened, the deputy enters at once the cabinet of the minister; he cannot, he must not wait; he is a sovereign. He gives his orders, he demands something every day; must he not give collectorships, places to young aspirants in the bureaux, licenses for the sale of tobacco (tobacco is a state monopoly in France), places as inspectors of asylums, of prisons, places in hospitals; furloughs for young soldiers; favors of all sorts—promotions, changes of residence, etc., etc.? Who could number the things which the deputy can ask for? In old times, what we call the "Administration" was all-powerful; the fountain of grace was either the prefect or the minister himself. The system had its inconveniences, but it had at least some established rules, it was not purely arbitrary. Some attention, and in the majority of cases much attention, was paid to the character, to the merit, to the record of a candidate for office or for promotion; if a favor was granted it was for motives derived from the nature of things. The arrondissement deputy knows no such limitations; he ignores the checks of routine, of administrative delay; he struggles for life; and to him all means are good.

When Gambetta, borne on the wave of a great popularity, accepted the task of forming a Cabinet, everybody was surprised to see that the Chamber did not manifest any enthusiasm. In fact, the first declaration which he read to the Chamber, his programme, was received very coldly—so coldly that the same evening he said to a friend that he must fight at once a battle with the Chamber, win or lose. The Minister of the Interior whom he had chosen was M. Wal-

deck-Rousseau, who was likewise M. Ferry's Minister of the Interior. He developed the ideas of Gambetta in a circular. Gambetta, in his declaration to the Chamber, had said that he meant to "free the Administration from personal influences." The circular was more explicit: "It cannot be permitted that solicitations, petitions for office or for advancement, shall continue to reach the Minister over the heads of his subordinates. The authority of these functionaries is thus diminished without profit to anybody, and the services which they can render are diminished. I have resolved to return unanswered the requests of this sort thus sent to me, and to accept no recommendation not transmitted through you." This circular was addressed to the prefects, and M. Waldeck-Rousseau added: "The time has come when the Republicans of Parliament will no longer have to maintain their credit by adding their signatures, with a recommendation, to petitions and requests, but by applying themselves to the study of the complex problems which are asking for a solution, and by finding a solution in conformity with the views of our democracy."

M. Waldeck-Rousseau, I have been informed, went so far as to address in an envelope a copy of this circular, which was written for the prefects, to every member of the Chamber. The lesson was hard, and it was understood. The Chamber felt that Gambetta wished to get rid of the local tyrants of the *arrondissements*. In order to complete his work, he introduced at once a bill changing the system of vote by *arrondissement* to the system of *scrutin de liste*, or vote by departmental tickets. It is quite clear that this last system changes the character of the deputy: he ceases to depend on the petty local influences of the *arrondissement*; he becomes the nominee of a party; he represents that party in the wider sphere of the department; he is no longer the slave of a few electors, and therefore he is not obliged to spend all his time in securing their future votes by obedience to their wishes.

The Chamber born of the *scrutin d'arrondissement* was hostile to the views of Gambetta. There seems to be a peculiar pleasure in being at the same time slave and tyrant. The deputies who had been sent to Paris, and who intended to remain there four years, were alarmed at the prospect of a change in the electoral law, which might be followed by a dissolution. "Was für Plunder!" (What rubbish!) old Blücher is said to have exclaimed when he saw Paris for the first time. These provincial conquerors owed their election to a great party struggle (the struggle against what is called the 16th of May—the dissolution made by Marshal MacMahon). That was very well for the present, but they had the future to secure; they had their own interests to promote, and the interests of their electors, closely bound up with their own.

The opposition against Gambetta, timid at first, became by degrees very loud. The word "dictator" was pronounced: it was whispered that he wished to be uncontrolled; that he despised the new Chamber, and called it a Chamber of *sous-vétérinaires* (under-veterinarians); that he wished for the *scrutin de liste* merely in order to have a Parliament of his own choosing, since he, with his Home Minister, would himself make up all the tickets. The struggle was not long: the *scrutin de liste* was rejected, and Gambetta fell, to the surprise of the whole world, having only been three months in office.

The Chamber has now spent all its activity, and, strangely enough, toward the end of its life, it has voted this very *scrutin de liste* which it rejected four years ago. It voted it at the request, we might almost say, at the command of Jules Ferry; but it voted it with fear and trembling. It was thought that Ferry was unassail-

able, that nothing could upset him, that he would, as the saying is, make the elections. It was highly important for each deputy to be on his side, otherwise he risked having his name stricken from the future tickets. I have it from very good authority that the Chamber would not have voted the new electoral law if it had thought it possible to change the Cabinet. The Chamber in reality dreaded Ferry and did not like him. It dreaded Waldeck-Rousseau, and did not like him either. The new law, voted at their request, had not yet gone to the Senate when the terrible news arrived from Tonquin. The deputies felt that they could now get rid of their leader. They had not dared to vote against him as they had done against Gambetta, on the question of the *scrutin de liste*; they took advantage of the emotional character of the Parisian population, and, I might almost add, of their own emotional and sensational disposition. They turned Ferry out, with the air of men who must sacrifice everything to the honor of France, with a heroic attitude, with a show of sensibility and of patriotism which was truly touching; in reality they avenged their own wrongs. They had not found Ferry and the Home Minister very complaisant tools; the spoils of office did not seem large enough in their own eyes; they were alarmed at the future; they felt that the country was discontented with them; they needed an expiatory victim. They found it in the person of the very man who, for two years, had led them at his will.

Correspondence.

THE END AND THE MEANS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: From Mr. Taussig's 'History of the Present Tariff' and your notice of that book it clearly appears that, in the general imposition of war taxes in 1864 and 1867, certain private interests were allowed to arrange the rates of customs pretty much at their own discretion; that the rates thus imposed have been in any case reduced but slightly, have been nearly all maintained and many of them even increased, and this notwithstanding that the internal taxes, against which they were assumed in a certain degree to be an offset, have been long since swept away. All expedients—tariff commissions, Executive recommendation, popular agitation, efforts of individual members—have failed to afford any remedy, and the tendency has been to relieve the surplus revenue by taking the taxes off of whiskey and tobacco; the very last articles which, by all doctrines of political economy, ought to be relieved. The natural conclusion is, that the tariff at this time is not a financial but a political question; not of abstract essays upon free trade and protection, but of the expedients for resisting hostile forces; not of explaining to the people that they are robbed, but of showing them how to defend themselves from being robbed; not of what to do, but of how to get it done.

Meantime, it may fairly be said that the tariff, more than all other causes put together, is chargeable with the paralysis of business. Not so much from its actual condition—that could be borne: business will in time, and after a fashion, adjust itself to high rates or low rates. But what no business can bear is an absolute uncertainty whether a given condition of things will be maintained or suddenly and violently reversed, and that uncertainty every session of Congress brings with it.

The apparent hopelessness of obtaining any systematic revision of the tariff is driving public opinion into a demand for "horizontal" reduction. It may be doubted whether the remedy

is not as bad as the disease. In the first place, as Mr. Taussig points out, it can be too easily repealed, as witness the ten per cent. reduction in 1872 and its repeal in 1875. The evil of uncertainty therefore remains. Again, a small reduction, by stimulating imports, is quite as likely to increase as to diminish revenue; while any reduction which should be large enough to admit of an increase of imports with a decrease of revenue might involve serious financial danger. The tariff is completely bound up with our system of currency. Besides legal-tender and national-bank notes, we have a vast fabric of bank deposits, both national and State, in the form of trust companies, the whole resting upon a comparatively small basis of specie, not to mention the complications involved in the silver coinage. It is not merely manufactures, but this expanded currency, which is protected by the tariff, just as a dam in a mill-stream protects the lake which is formed above. Whatever else may be said of the tariff, it placed a heavy check upon imports in the speculative years 1879 to 1883; and thus, when the panic of last year took place, and now, when a European war is threatened, instead of being heavily in debt abroad, and thus furnishing the instrument for a drain of specie, we find ourselves but lightly in debt, with a bank surplus of more than fifty millions in cash, and with foreign exchange obstinately sticking below the point of export of specie, notwithstanding that money in London has for a time ruled considerably higher than here. A sudden and large horizontal reduction of the tariff would produce an effect, if not so immediate, yet similar in kind to that which would follow from knocking a hole in the dam of a large lake immediately above a town. Once more, the industries which have been artificially nurtured by the tariff, though imposing an unjust burden upon the consumer, exist less through their own fault than through that of the Government. They are entitled to any consideration consistent with the main object, to reasonable time, and gradual and equitable readjustment of duties. Experience, as well as theory, has shown that systematic revision cannot be expected from secret committees of Congress, working under pressure from the lobby and with suppression of public discussion. There is needed some agency which shall represent the national interest against private and local ones; which shall be exposed to public, constant, and efficient criticism, in a manner which will render intrigue impossible, and make every member of Congress responsible before the country for the motive and the effect of his vote. This agency can be found only in the Secretary of the Treasury having a seat on the floor of the houses, with the right to a share in debate, but without a vote.

To those who regard this as a mere notion, an impracticable "fad," I will submit only one fact. On the 4th of February, 1881, Hon. Geo. H. Pendleton presented in the Senate a report signed by all the eight members of a committee of that body, recommending that all the members of the Cabinet be admitted to both houses, with the right to share in debate, but without a vote, and that on certain days in the Senate and certain others in the House, they should be present for the purpose of answering any questions addressed to them; suggesting certain modifications of the rules necessary for this purpose; and adding a long list of examples showing that it is in accordance with the practice of every government in the world making any pretence to constitutional forms. The names of these Senators will show that it was no doubtful matter which could bring them to unanimous agreement. They were George H. Pendleton, W. B. Allison, D. W. Voorhees, James G. Blaine, M. C. Butler, John J. Ingalls, O. H. Platt, J. T. Farley. In this re-

port occurs the following sentence: "The advantages of the system proposed are so obvious and so manifold that the committee feels relieved from a detailed statement of them, and confines this report to an examination of the question of its constitutionality," which they demonstrate beyond the possibility of doubt.

The question next arises, Why is it, if its advantages are so obvious and it is so strongly recommended, that this measure has never since received the slightest attention in or outside of Congress? This brings us to the next link in the chain of argument. If this measure is most likely to produce tariff reform, and if tariff reform is what the lobby and therefore the committees object to, then they will for that reason oppose and endeavor to suppress the measure. Again, Congress, as at present composed, very much prefers the great power of its committees and their chairmen, and the party use of that powerful instrument, the Speaker, to any national reforms which would involve a surrender of a portion of these privileges. The interest of the country is exactly opposed to the interest of Congress in its present form, and it is to be noted that while the question of tariff reform implies control of a mass of details easily manipulated by the lobby, Cabinet responsibility forms a simple and definite issue, to be met only with "yes" or "no," and which the lobby would be powerless to resist if once the country was determined upon it. It is a singular thing that while so many past Cabinet officers (and I could give a surprising list) have expressed themselves strongly in private in favor of the measure, there is not one of them who dares to lend his name to the public advocacy of such a radical departure from the beaten track of routine.

I have observed lately that at public meetings, and especially dinners, orators, occupying the highest political positions, have attempted to outline the policy of the two great parties, their efforts extracting from the public only shouts of laughter or sneers of contempt. The fact is, that neither party has any policy at all, nor any reason of existence beyond its relation to the civil war of a quarter of a century back. Now the Senate report above quoted offers a definite line of policy open to competition by either party—a policy warranted to wear, and to wash without change of color. Executive responsibility; separation of executive and legislative power; national interest as against private and local; a continuous and developing policy as against spasmodic and impotent efforts; publicity in place of secret intrigue; the will of the people as against the lobby; individuality against impersonal majorities—there are as many notes in it as keys to a piano, and they may be played upon in combinations to suit individual genius and taste. What artist of reputation will open the concert?

G. B.

BOSTON, April 27, 1885.

POPULAR VIEW OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One needs to breathe the atmosphere of the capital if he wishes to trace to their sources the mutterings of discontent which now and then make themselves heard against the new Administration. To those of us who stay at home, it seems that all things are working together for the good of the country. It seems to us that the President is wise in refusing the exorbitant demands of eager office-seekers. It seems to our rural and simple minds that the President is carrying out a solemn promise when he adheres to his civil-service-reform principles. We know, as long as we stay at home, that he is the great

apostle of reform. Moreover, we feel assured that much depends upon that reform which he is so honestly and so bravely carrying out. We have all seen the evils of the spoils system. We want no more of it.

But when we get to Washington, we are told by the first office-seeker we happen to meet that there is a suppressed murmur rising up from the people, which shortly will break into a terrible yell or howl. We ask the reason of this intended howl, and we are told that the President is moving too slowly in the matter of distribution of offices, and the people will not stand it. We are also told that the President is a new man, without experience—that he is no politician; and then, when we involuntarily ejaculate, "Thank God for that!" our friend calls us a Mugwump, and indignantly takes his departure.

In truth, the people are more than satisfied with the Administration; there is among them a quiet satisfaction and a perfect confidence. They care as little about the supposed grievances of the office-seekers as do the office-seekers about the real welfare and good of the country.—Very respectfully,

J. H.

MADISON C. H., VA., April 30, 1885.

THE REWARD OF BOLTING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Independents do not expect and should not accept office under the present Administration. But their feelings are entitled to consideration.

It was very painful to me, a Republican from boyhood, to bolt the party nomination last year, but I did it as a matter of public duty, and worked with voice, pen, and—within my modest means—purse, for the defeat of Mr. Blaine.

At about the same time, as would appear from his pamphlet, "America's Egypt," Mr. James M. Morgan bolted his party's nomination, to work for the opposite candidate, Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine was not elected, but Mr. Morgan has received from Mr. Cleveland what he doubtless hoped for from Mr. Blaine. That this man should be rewarded by office, under these circumstances, is a blow in the face to every Republican that left his party for the country's good.

B.

WASHINGTON, May 1, 1885.

FREE SHIPS, FREE GOODS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In an editorial paragraph of a late number of the *Nation* the opinion is expressed that "if war should unfortunately be waged on the ocean between England and Russia the rule 'free ships, free goods' would be of enormous benefit to the Government and people of the United States if they only had (as they have not) the ships to do the carrying trade for both belligerents."

Does not the writer of the article lose sight of the fact that, in the event of war between the two countries named, we could not safely carry the goods of either enemy upon our vessels, as the four articles contained in the Declaration of Paris apply only to the signers of, and not to us who refused to accede to, the convention? It is true that during the Crimean war England waived the right which, she had persistently claimed, belonged to her under the law of nations, of seizing enemy's property laden on board a neutral vessel, and that the United States did the same during the late civil war. But, if I mistake not, the English Government has always maintained that the Declaration of Paris applies solely to the signatory Powers, and that the second article, which nearly expresses the rule quoted, is

designed for the exclusive benefit of neutrals who are parties to the Declaration.

If this is England's position, would she not, in the event of war, feel at liberty to seize Russian goods found in our ships, and would not Russia, even if disposed to act differently, be then driven to retaliate by confiscating British goods discovered in American bottoms?—Yours very respectfully,

T. S.

FORT LEAVENWORTH, KANSAS, April 29, 1885.

[England not only "waived" the right of seizing enemy's property on board a neutral vessel, but formally abandoned it in 1854, and adopted the principle of "free ships, free goods." She went further than this, and, by an Order in Council, permitted her own subjects to trade with enemy's ports in neutral bottoms. There is no more probability of her reviving the old claim than of her reviving the claim to search foreign vessels for British seamen. The old doctrine about enemy's goods in neutral bottoms is simply dead, and there's an end on't. The declaration of the Treaty of Paris with regard to enemy's goods in neutral bottoms was attacked in the British House of Lords in 1856, but Lord Clarendon made light of the concession it contained on the part of England, on the ground that it was simply the abandonment of a claim "which she could not maintain."—ED. NATION.]

Notes.

THE fourth volume of the *Q. V. Index Annual* (No. 17 in the valuable series of which it bears the distinctive name) is a key to the contents of upward of thirty American, English, and German periodicals for the year 1884. For the major part of these Mr. Griswold also furnishes a tabular statement of the number of the last page in each monthly issue.

Roberts Bros. will shortly publish 'New Poems,' by Jean Ingelow, from advance sheets; a plain edition, 12mo, of Hamerton's 'Landscape'; and 'The Fall of the Great Republic, 1886-88.'

'The Russian Revolt,' by Edmund Noble, for some time a resident in Russia; and 'Down the Ravine,' a child's story, by Charles Egbert Craddock, will be published during the present month by Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

J. B. Lippincott & Co. will be the American publishers of the Ashburton edition of Carlyle's works, in seventeen volumes, just begun to be issued at the rate of one a month.

The war poems of Mrs. Kate Brownlee Sherwood, and a little volume containing two essays by Mrs. Helen Ekin Starrett and Mrs. Frances Ekin Allison ("The Future of Educated Women," "Men, Women, and Money"), are in the press of Jansen, McClurg & Co., Chicago.

Somewhat more than two years ago we praised, as considerably above the average of its class, Prof. Robert K. Douglas's 'China.' This work has now been reprinted by D. Lothrop & Co., Boston, under the editorial supervision of Mr. Arthur Gilman, who furnishes an analytic table of contents and an index. Mr. Yan Phou Lee, of Yale College, has suggested a few notes.

We notice a new edition of Rees's 'Life of Edwin Forrest' (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros.), for the sake of quoting from the preface a crucial test of the writer's inability to discriminate between *shall* and *will*, of which we have heard so much lately. Says Mr. Rees, of a certain photograph: "Mr. Forrest was so well pleased with it that he declared 'he would never

sit for another picture to mortal man.' It was, alas! too true; for his death followed shortly afterward."

Among the latest English author bibliographies is the little volume of 'Hints to Collectors of Original Editions of the Works of William Makepeace Thackeray' (London: Redway; New York: Scribner & Welford), which gives an exact copy of the title page of every book, with a full collation of pages and illustrations, and notes of differences in editions. Prices obtained at recent sales are also appended. This innocent work has caused great tribulation, as it sets up a strict canon, tested by which many so-called first editions are found wanting and must fall from their high estate. A similar volume of 'Hints to Dickens's Collectors' is announced as in preparation.

Mr. Joseph Skipsey, who is now editing in London a series of "Canterbury Poets" in shilling volumes, has drawn freely from American authors. Volumes of selections from Longfellow and Poe have already appeared, and Whitman and Whittier are announced as ready to be issued in early volumes. The little books are intended to appear at monthly intervals.

Mr. Andrew Lang is engaged in preparing, for the Parchment Library, selections from Burns and from Scott. He has already given the same series an excellent edition of Poe's poems.

The Dunlap Society, of this city, has had itself duly incorporated that it may legally receive gifts of books about the stage (and especially about the American stage), portraits, prints, playbills, autographs, manuscripts, etc. The Treasurer is Mr. Thomas J. McKee, 338 Broome Street. The Society hopes to hold a loan exhibition at its annual meeting next January.

The list of private laws passed at the second session of the 48th Congress is the most striking feature of No. 3 of Mr. J. H. Hickcox's important monthly catalogue called *United States Publications*. But piquant is the note under Senate Report No. 577, which nominally consisted of "questions propounded to the President of the Western Union Telegraph Company." "The 'questions' occupy 4 pp. The remainder of the 'report' [32 pp.] consists of 'Press comments on the action of the Associated Press in furnishing reports of the Presidential election, November, 1884.' The report has been suppressed for want of paternity."

From the Signal Service Bureau we have two "Notes," Nos. 16 and 18, 'The Aurora in its Relations to Metrology,' by Private Alexander McAdie, and 'The Effect of Wind-Currents on Rain-fall,' by Private G. E. Curtis. Several maps accompany the former. One shows the relative frequency of auroras and thunder-storms and annual mean humidity and pressure in the United States for the years 1881, 1882.

From the Bureau of Education comes No. 1 of the Circulars of Information for 1885, a compendious account of the City School Systems of the United States, by Mr. John D. Philbrick; and a pamphlet on 'Planting Trees in School Grounds, and the Celebration of Arbor Day'—a sort of manual for this new festival, which has become epidemic, as well as a tract against forest devastation.

A little pamphlet, 'What Profession Shall I Choose? and How Shall I Fit Myself for It?' represents a "symposium" of professors at Cornell, and is meant to direct attention to that institution of learning. Its hints will be found more widely useful. That on the necessary preparation for journalism we can instance as sensible. Such a statement, however, as that "the editorial chairs established originally by men of uncultivated genius are now more and more occupied by successors who have been thoroughly educated" is disputable, especially if we lay stress on the word "thoroughly." If true, considering the

present state of the press at large (which seems to us less hopeful than a dozen years ago), it suggests some painful reflections.

The Newton (Mass.) Civil-Service Reform Association has published a useful summary sketch, by its President, Rev. Henry Lambert, of 'The Progress of Civil-Service Reform in the United States.' We are glad to observe that Mr. Lambert does not overlook an essential link in the chain of events—a letter written to the *Nation* in August, 1880, which brought about the reorganization of the New York Association, and gave the signal for the final organization of the friends of pure and efficient administration throughout the country.

Mr. W. E. Foster's annual report of the Providence Library under his charge is a very encouraging document, though the new spirit which such an institution always awakens appears to have shown itself among donors rather than readers. Mr. Foster remarks that the Presidential campaign of 1880 coincided with a falling off in the use of the library, while that of last November seemed rather to stimulate it.

The twelfth number of Mr. Ponce de Leon's 'Technological English-Spanish Dictionary' carries the work well into the letter R, page 640 containing the compounds of the fertile word *rope*.

The etchings of *L'Art* for March 15 and April 1 include a very spirited marine, the "Tempest" of Franz von Pausinger, the "Resurrection" of Van Dyck, from the collection of the late Mr. Boesch, of Vienna, and a Wouwerman military piece from the same source. Among the facsimile reproductions are drawings after Millet and particularly after Bastien-Lepage—all fine and interesting in a high degree. The literary quality of these numbers is also considerable, whether we name M. Badin's account of M. Maurice Sand's marionettes, or Mr. Charles Diehl's archeological discourse on Ravenna, the illustrations to which are the firm and broad work of a woman, Mlle. Herwegen.

Science for April 24 has a very clear map of the Saskatchewan region, the scene of the Riel rebellion; and for May 1, a map of Central Asia, including the whole of Afghanistan, reduced from one made from the Anglo-Russian surveys up to 1881. In fact, this latter number of *Science* is conspicuous for the attention it gives to the great dispute now pending in the Eastern hemisphere.

A curious illustration of the ignorance of geography of the English press has just been shown. On April 4th it was announced that the British flag had been hoisted the day before at Port Hamilton, which was to be occupied as a coaling and naval station. The *Times*, *Pull Mall Gazette*, and other papers, including *Nature*, to our surprise, described the new possession as consisting of the large Korean island of Quelpart. The fact is, as a glance at any recent map would have shown, that Port Hamilton is a harbor formed by three small islands lying about twenty miles south of the southern extremity of the Korean Peninsula, and about 170 miles northwest of Nagasaki, and nearly 400 miles northeast of Shanghai. The acquisition of this harbor was the last public act of Sir Harry Parkes, the late British Minister to China.

The Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society for April contain a translation of a paper by M. Paul Lessar descriptive of Kara-Kum, or desert of Turkomania, in the south of which Merv is situated. M. Lessar is a civil engineer, who was sent by the Russian Government in February of this year to London with its proposals regarding the Afghan frontier. In 1883 he conducted a survey, of which this paper is a brief account, the principal aim of which was to explore the dry channel known as the Unguz with the view of ascertaining its adaptability for being utilized as

a way for the Amu River to the Caspian Sea. The difficulties to be overcome in carrying out this scheme he pronounces unhesitatingly to be "practically insurmountable." Incidentally he refers to a similar scheme, which the Russian Government have for years been investigating, for utilizing the Uzboi, another dry channel, for connecting the Aral with the Caspian, saying that either a canal or a railroad "would cost immeasurably less than an artificial river."

The other papers in the Proceedings are a description of the beautiful "King Country" of New Zealand, and a brief account of the new "Free State of the Congo," by Mr. E. Delmar Morgan, accompanied by a map showing the boundaries as laid down by the Berlin Conference. The White Book just issued by the German Government, it may be noted here, contains a map of Central Africa, showing not only the boundaries of the various countries on the Congo, but those of the other territories recently acquired by the Germans in Africa.

A recent letter from Przhevalski, the Russian traveller, giving an account of his discovery of the sources of the river Hwang-ho, says that he came upon a party of Tanguts who were engaged in gold-washing. Though working in the most primitive way, they showed him "whole handfuls of gold in great pieces, none of which were smaller than a pea." He prophesies that Tibet will prove to be a second California.

A novel feature of the celebration of Bismarck's birthday at Berlin was the exhibition of a collection of more than one hundred and fifty separate works in different languages—biographies, poems, stories, political treatises, etc.—relating wholly to the Prince. The walls of the room containing this collection were hung with photographs of pictures and statues representing scenes in his life, together with various portraits of him and nearly fifty busts and medallions.

Mr. Christern sends us the prospectus of an important series of photographic reproductions of original drawings by the old masters contained in the Old Pinakothek at Munich ('Handzeichnungen alter Meister,' etc.) under the direction of Dr. W. Schmidt, Curator of the Kupferstich-cabinet at the Pinakothek. Letter-press of a technical descriptive character will accompany each *Lieferung*.

J. Rouam, 29 Cité d'Antin, Paris, is about to issue 'Médallions Contemporains,' by the artist Ringel, of which *L'Art* has published several specimens. They are very spirited.

At the Cambridge (England) Observatory one of the observations of the nadir point was interrupted for a while by a singular circumstance. Professor Adams reports that on the morning of April 22, his assistant, Miss Walker, had prepared to make the observation, and was looking into the eye-piece, when she perceived that the image of the wire was making violent oscillations. She found it necessary to wait for several minutes before the image became sufficiently steady to allow the observation to be made. It was not till afterward that she was made aware that a slight earthquake shock had taken place at the exact time when she was attempting to make the observation.

Whoever watches history in the making will always be very suspicious of those theories which explain the origin of any important movement in the past by a single cause. Therefore it is a satisfaction to see Weingarten's 'Ursprung des Mönchtums' (1877), which traces monasticism to the devotees of Serapis, opposed. Bornemann, 'In investiganda monachatus origine quibus de causis ratio habenda sit Origenis' (Göttingen, 1885), points out that the monastic institution is very complex, that it took different forms in different places and at different times, and that

these forms imply a variety of originating causes, as, the practice of the precepts of the Gospel, penitence, repugnance toward a worldly life, a love of the marvellous, the customs of contemporary philosophical sects, the precarious state of society, and the expectation of a speedy end of the world.

On the 15th of last month the family of Goethe became extinct by the death, at Weimar, of Kammerherr Walther von Goethe, the poet's grandson. He was the elder son (born in 1818) of Julius August Walther von Goethe (1789-1830), the only one of the many children born to the poet by Christiane Vulpius who outlived the age of childhood. The younger, Wolfgang Maximilian, born in 1820, died a little more than two years ago, and their only sister, born in 1827, ended her short life in 1844. None of the three was married. The two brothers were endowed with respectable talents, and the younger was the author of several works, mainly poetical; but both were oppressed and depressed through life by the burden of the great name which they bore, spending their days in melancholy taciturnity at Weimar, as keepers of their grandfather's collections, which, in fact, they are said to have shown with reluctance. They were, however, treated with kindness and distinction by the court of Weimar. Their mother, born in 1796, died in the same city in 1872.

Holland has lost one of the most distinguished representatives of her liberal school of theology and Bible criticism in Johannes Henricus Scholten, who died in the early part of last month. He was born in 1811, and became Professor of Theology at the University of Leyden in 1843, a position which he held till the age of seventy. He was the author of numerous works, philosophico-religious, dogmatic, and critical, which have exercised a powerful influence upon the recent theological evolutions in the Protestant world. By his critical examinations of the Gospels and other New Testament writings he raised himself to a position analogous to that held by Baur in Tübingen. Among his most important productions are 'Het Evangelie naar Johannes,' (1864), 'De Evangelien naar Mattheus en Marcus' (1868), and 'Het Paulinisch Evangelie' (1870). He was one of the editors of the Leyden *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, of which Professor Kuenen is now the leading spirit.

—Mr. W. K. Sullivan sends us from Chicago the following: "The article on the proper use of shall and will, in a recent issue of the *Nation*, recalled to my mind a rhyme which was given in the grammar used in the National Schools in Ireland twenty-five years ago, as a rule to guide learners in the use of shall and will. For aught I know it is still printed in the National School grammar. I think it covers the ground. It is as follows:

"In the first person simply shall foretells,
In will a threat or else a promise dwells;
Shall in the second and third does threat,
Will then simply foretells a future feat."

—The fifth volume of collections just published by the Minnesota Historical Society, an octavo of 535 pages, is a monograph concerning the Ojibway Indians. Three-fourths of the book is the production of a man whose maternal ancestors were Ojibways. Except Lewis H. Morgan's treatise on the Six Nations, scarcely any volume on our aborigines can be compared with this. The author, Mr. Warren, born in 1825 at La Pointe, on Lake Superior, the centre of the Ojibway country, passed his childhood there, and was afterward for five years at school in New York. At the age of sixteen he returned to the Indian country, and became Government interpreter and a member of the Minnesota Territorial Legislature. But for the next twelve years, until his death in

1853, his labor of love was searching out lodge-fires and listening to the lodge-stories and legends of his Indian grandfathers. He thus secured the testimony of contemporary witnesses regarding all tribal events in the present century. He makes a plausible claim that the traditions he gathered run back at least to the year 1500, and that they are trustworthy—worthy, indeed, of more credit than French adventures and Jesuit Relations. In 1842, Mr. Warren saw at La Pointe the family register of the leading hereditary family among the Ojibways—the Cranes—and heard it explained by the first chief. This was a circular plate of virgin copper, with eight deeply marked indentations, denoting the number of generations that had passed away since the tribe had established their headquarters on that spot. Each generation was estimated at forty years.

—It is not generally understood how grand a tribe the Ojibways, still, perhaps, better known as Chippeways, were and are. They once encompassed Lake Superior as the Roman Empire did the Mediterranean, and their western frontier stretched more than a thousand miles from Lake Winnipeg to the mouth of the Wisconsin. In 1883 the United States and Canadian census-takers found their number to be 28,500. Is there any tribe now larger? There are also, according to Mr. Warren, about 5,000 Ojibways of French or American extraction, or mixed blood. This Minnesota contribution from an unhopd-for source must be welcome to every ethnological student. It ought to have been published thirty years ago. It throws a long desiderated light on the totemic system, on the origin of Western mounds, on the author's vernacular, on the myths of his tribe, on their confederations and disunions, on their faith, worship, and customs, on their architecture and other arts, on their cannibalism and island abodes, on their first impressions of the whites—indeed, on something upon every page. Mr. Warren laments that he wrote away from books. The truth is, his book is the better for that lack. Dr. Neill, the historian of Minnesota, drawing from official and other records, has added a hundred pages to Mr. Warren's details. He has doubtless corrected some dates and other figures; but his lucubrations are dry bones, while the narrative based on tradition has the unity of breathing life. Warren was a kinsman of his namesake who fell at Bunker Hill, and he died young, but not before he had reared a lasting monument of his nation.

—The *Century* now comes out on the first of the month of which it bears date—a fact which will do something to dispel the superstition that any magazine wishing to outstrip its contemporaries must be in the field ahead of them. Its hold upon the public (its first edition is now 250,000) has been established by the interest and excellence of its contents, and it now appears to find that there is, under these circumstances, no real danger in being two weeks behind its competitors. In the May number more than seventy pages are devoted to war articles, and some lucubrations on the subject of General Grant by General Badeau, and the rest is of such equal merit that it is hard to pick out what is most interesting. Mr. Howells contributes the seventh instalment of "The Rise of Silas Lapham," in which the women are drawn with just that combination of sympathy and irony which women best appreciate. Mr. Howells in this number solves the question propounded in the last, as to whether Silas on a certain occasion was or was not drunk, in the affirmative; and the scene between him and Corey in consequence is very good, though to our mind not so perfect as the subsequent scenes produced by Corey's declaration. This story, with its photographic reproductions of a certain

side of American life, seems to be the best thing that Mr. Howells has recently done, and may serve a hundred years hence to help our descendants to understand our day and generation. Mr. E. V. Smalley has a good illustrated article on the New Orleans Exposition, which brings out clearly the energy and enterprise and even self-sacrifice of its promoters, but at the same time suggests the inquiry, When is this thing to stop? The truth of the matter is, that with all their energy, enterprise, and self-sacrifice, they could not have made the Exposition a success without Government aid—that is, without a tax upon the people of the whole country. If the cotton-growing section is to have a tax for its benefit, ought not each section in turn to have one; and if New York or Boston wants a loan from the Government, or San Francisco or Chicago, where are we to draw the line? Of course these expositions are money-making ventures for somebody—the exhibitors perhaps, the hotel keepers and the railroads certainly. It would be worth the while of these two last interests to have an exposition somewhere every six months. Among the illustrations of the present number are noticeable some engravings of dogs, by Gaston Fay, that representing a St. Bernard being a conspicuous example of skill in woodcutting in the best vein of the art.

—Harper's, besides its serials and illustrated articles, still has for its best reading the Editor's Easy Chair, in which Mr. Curtis this month has something to say of "Manners, Old and New." This little essay is a model of its kind—suggestive, allusive, light, leaving in the reader's mind a very distinct impression of the view taken by the writer of the tendency of modern manners, although nowhere laying it down dogmatically. The truth is (if we may venture to translate what he says into plainer and grosser language) that the new breeding is that of stable-boys and bar-maids; and as American manners were, a generation ago, proverbial for over-refinement, they now threaten to become, in the course of another, noted for the opposite. The effect of this will be, and we believe already is, to drive refined and cultivated people (for such there must always be) out of "society." Without attaching too much importance to the connection between good manners and morality, and admitting that true goodness does not produce as a necessary consequence good breeding, nor good breeding true goodness, it is certain that refinement and cultivation revolt against vulgarity, and ignorance, and insolence, and display, and boisterous egotism. Consequently, if society becomes, as Mr. Curtis suggests, a "sailors' boarding house," a good many of the older tenants will seek more solitary quarters, and in the end there will be nothing like what used to be known as "society" at all. To be "in society" will merely mean that you have a quantity of money, a big house, and bad manners, and associate with persons whose room is generally considered among people of taste better than their company. In our effort at translation, we have perhaps outrun the original; but what we have said is at least implied in what the Easy Chair says.

—Mr. Richard A. Proctor, who appears to have taken all knowledge for his province, has an article in the May *Atlantic* on "The Misused H of England," in which he combats with vigor the position assumed by the late Mr. Richard Grant White as to this letter. A philologist no longer living is at the mercy of his enemies, if they make their attacks with wisdom, for there is no one to make reply, the *odium philologicum* being so great that there is no living student of words but has theories of his own which forbid him to come to the rescue of a deceased brother. In the interest of fair play, therefore, we desire to call attention to the fact that, whatever the merits or demerits

of Mr. White's theories about the letter H, Mr. Proctor's views must be accepted with a good deal of reserve. That a man may be great in astronomy, and know very little about whist, is the conclusion which has been forced upon many readers of Mr. Proctor's essays on the latter subject; that he may know a great deal about a great many things, and yet not have got to the bottom of the misuse of the letter H, is a conclusion which will be forced upon many readers of the present article. The question is, why the *h* is prefixed to words to which it does not belong, and left off words which are properly aspirated. Mr. Proctor suggests two explanations: First, that in all great cities (it is taken for granted that the disease is of London origin) men shorten their words as much as possible. Time is money, and therefore in Paris people say, instead of *cette femme, c'te f'me, and Voilà ce que c'est* becomes *V'là c'q'c'est*; while in London an omnibus is called a 'bus; conductor, 'ductor, and so on. This will account for the *h* being dropped, though Mr. Proctor throws in another reason which would not have occurred to many people—that London fogs make it so disagreeable a task to open the mouth, that the avoidance of an aspirate conduces to the convenience of Cockneys. But then if this is so, why is the *h* put on where it does not belong? It is introduced for the sake of emphasis, Mr. Proctor thinks—the desire to be emphatic overcoming *ad hoc* the tendency to slur and elide. If all these things are true, they show that Mr. White's theory was entirely wrong, and his idea that the elision of the *h* was once a common practice among educated English people a delusion. We confess that we do not altogether follow Mr. Proctor. Is not the "umble" of Uriah Heep much more emphatic than *humble* would have been? Is it conceivable that Paris slang such as he quotes is due to the hurried life of a great capital? And is there not a sufficient number of educated English who drop the *h* in some words to make us suspect that it was once much commoner than it is now? and does not the line quoted from Tennyson as an illustration of the "Northern" dialect—

"Where 'a'nta bein saw long and mes' ligg'in' 'ere aloin'"—
throw a good deal of doubt on the fundamental assumption that dropping the *h* is a disease peculiar to London?

—Mr. Philip G. Hubert, jr., has an interesting article in *Lippincott's* on "New York's Lyceum School for Actors." It seems that this school was not started by enthusiasts for the elevation of the drama, but had its origin in the system followed with great profit by the Madison Square Theatre, of keeping half a dozen travelling companies "on the road" acting the same play. To keep such a system going, it is obviously necessary that there shall be a supply of competent actors and actresses ready to be "laid on" in the various parts in the different provincial towns and cities, to take the place of members of the travelling companies who may die, or be taken ill, or for any reason compelled to cancel their engagements. For this purpose Mr. F. H. Sargent, then an instructor in elocution and dramatic reading at Harvard, was invited to come to New York and classify the applicants for admission. For the immediate purposes of the Madison Square Theatre it was apparently necessary at first only to teach people to act a very few parts, chiefly if not altogether those contained in "Hazel Kirke," a play which has been acted continuously in one or more parts of the United States for more than four years. At the height of the "Hazel Kirke" rage, the supply of Hazels was very considerable, and after proper training they were kept, to speak vulgarly, "on tap," so that if, for instance, the manager received a despatch from St. Louis, announcing the illness of the lo-

cal Hazel, and asking for a substitute, all he had to do was to take down a ledger, turn to a page headed "Hazel," select the young woman who lived nearest St. Louis, and send her a despatch to report for orders to the local manager. "Gradually the theatre came to have several hundred persons of more or less experience, and living in all parts of the country, looking to it for employment and opportunities." Out of this came the idea of the Lyceum School, a school connected with the new Lyceum Theatre; the object of the manager, Mr. Mackaye, being mainly to have a competent corps from which his "road" companies could be drawn. Mr. Sargent is at the head of it, the applicants are numerous, and the teaching, from what we have observed of its effects, good. The curse of the American stage at present is the gross ignorance and want of proper training of its actors and actresses. Training in the rudiments of the art of acting, in enunciation, pronunciation, the carriage of the body, in the use of the voice—all this, to say nothing of the higher branches, is now to be had at the Lyceum School. The school is a standing warning to such as desire to study the dramatic art, that hereafter the prizes are only to be had by such as will abandon the stale delusion that acting comes by nature.

—Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton makes in a *North American* symposium a tremendous onslaught upon Christianity, which she insists is far from having "benefited woman." The elevation of woman is due, Mrs. Stanton says, not to Christianity, but to the deep affection for noble women early observed by Tacitus and other candid foreigners among the Germanic tribes. "It is only in countries where Germanic ideas have taken root that we see marks of any elevation of woman superior to that of Pagan antiquity; and as the condition of the German woman in her deepest Paganism was so striking as to challenge the attention of Tacitus and his contemporaries, it is highly unreasonable to claim it as an achievement of Christianity." The Christian side of the argument is taken up by Bishop J. L. Spaulding, who makes the point that Tacitus never himself crossed the Rhine; that he gives us very few facts about the position of women in ancient Germany; that really the lot of woman among the Teutonic tribes was what it has always been among barbarians. He cites in proof the fact that the fine for killing a young woman among the Germans, no matter how noble she was, nor how deep the affection felt for her, was only two dollars. We may add to this that among modern Germans the position of woman is not at all what Mrs. Stanton would like to derive from the "Teutonic idea." That Christianity has done much to elevate the position of the weak and defenceless in the world is generally conceded. Women are naturally weak and defenceless. Therefore the conclusion seems irresistible that Christianity *has* benefited woman. We pronounce judgment for Christianity and its defender, Bishop Spaulding.

—In the *Athenæum* of April 11, Mr. Sutherland Edwards calls attention to a pamphlet by J. B. Pérès, entitled 'Comme quoi Napoléon n'a jamais existé,' first published, as he says, in 1817, and asks if the originality of Whately's 'Historic Doubts relative to Napoleon,' which appeared in 1819, has ever been questioned. Though the similarity between the two lies rather in the conception than in the details, it is no doubt possible, if Pérès did publish his satire in 1817, that Whately may have obtained from it the idea which he so ingeniously develops. But it is by no means certain that the French pamphlet is the earlier of the two, for though Larousse and the 'Nouvelle Biographie Générale' give 1817 as the date of the first edition, Lorenz and 'La Littérature Française Contemporaine' give 1827, the

'Biographie Universelle' gives 1835, while, according to the third edition of Barbier's 'Dictionnaire des Ouvrages Anonymes,' perhaps the best authority on a question of this sort, the pamphlet was first published anonymously, with the title 'Grand erratum. Source d'un nombre infini d'errata à noter dans l'histoire du XIX^e siècle' (Agen, Noubel imp., 1836). The second and third editions appeared at Paris in the same year, 1836; the title being changed with the third edition to 'Comme quoi Napoléon n'a jamais existé. Grand erratum,' etc. The fourth edition (Paris, Risler, 1838) bears the name of the author, and no further change seems to have been made in the title, though it ran through a number of editions (the tenth bearing the date 1864), and it was also reprinted in several collections, such as the 'Histoires drolatiques de l'Empereur Napoléon,' etc. If, as seems most probable, the dates given by Barbier are correct, it is clear that there can be no question as to the originality of Whately's 'Historic Doubts,' whatever may be said of Pérès. It is possible that Mr. Edwards may have in his possession such evidence in favor of the date 1817 as will prove Barbier to have been mistaken; but his evident ignorance of the history of the pamphlet, and the inaccuracy displayed in several instances by him, in this same letter, are not calculated to inspire confidence in his statements of facts. Thus he spells his author's name "Pérez" instead of Pérès, the correct form; he speaks of the fourth edition of Whately's 'Historic Doubts' as the last, though the tenth edition appeared so long ago as 1850; and his statement that this pamphlet by Pérès has never been published in English shows that he is unaware that a slightly abridged translation may be found in the first volume of 'Philobiblion.' This seems also to have escaped the notice of Mr. Garnett, who, in the *Athenæum* of April 18, corrects some of Mr. Edwards's mistakes, and takes occasion to announce that an English version is on the point of publication. Mr. Edwards also overlooks the fact that the reference made by Pérès to Delavigne as the author of the 'Nouvelles Messéniennes' (1822-24), unless he can show that it does not occur in the first edition, is conclusive internal evidence that the French pamphlet must have been written at least some four or five years after the appearance of the 'Historic Doubts.'

—The life of the late Dr. Karl Hillebrand, our lamented collaborer, has been sketched in extensive obituaries, or rather biographical essays, by eminent contributors to leading journals both of Germany, his native land, and of Italy, where he spent the latter years of his but too brief career. The latest sketch, that of O. Hartwig in the Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 9, 10, and 11, is alike appreciative and rich in characteristic traits, and embodies details drawn from Ludwig Bamberg's obituary in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, H. Homberger's in the *Berlin Nation*, F. Dernburg's "Recollections" of the deceased writer in the *Nationalzeitung*, and Prof. Giacomo Barzellotti's lecture on him published in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*. Want of room forbids us to make extensive excerpts from these tributes of friendship and admiration, but we cannot refrain from quoting a few lines from a letter of Hillebrand's penned in the shadow of slowly but surely approaching death—lines of retrospective contemplation worthy, we believe, to be engraved on monumental marble. Not to impair their exquisite flavor, we give them in the original:

"Je ne me plains pas. . . . J'ai eu ma belle part au banquet de la vie. Les dieux m'ont toujours voulu du bien: ils ont toujours tenu loin de moi le spectre du besoin, ils ont puni avec indulgence et *pède clauda* les fautes et les vices dont j'ai pu me rendre coupable dans ma jeunesse; avant tout ils m'ont donné et conservé un tem-

pérament heureux, qui fait que les blessures cicatrisent vite, et que la stérile réflexion sur le passé, l'inutile sondage de l'avenir, ne m'ont jamais gâté le présent; j'ai pris un vif intérêt à la comédie de ce monde et j'en ai joui; l'amour le plus noble et le plus constant a toujours étendu son aile sur moi comme un ange gardien; les amitiés les plus sûres, vraies et voyantes m'ont soutenu dans tout le cours de ma vie; les hommes en général m'ont montré de la sympathie et les femmes m'ont choyé; j'ai obtenu le genre de réputation discrète, circonscrite, mais de bon aloi, qui était ma seule ambition, et si les dieux m'accordent encore une fin calme et proprette, j'aurai mauvaise grâce dans une autre vie de me plaindre de celle-ci."

—Doctor Kleiber, of St. Petersburg, publishes in the *Astronomische Nachrichten* the results of investigations by himself and Doctor Keller on the amount by which the earth's mass is increased each hour by the meteors falling upon the globe from space. The original memoirs, which are printed in Russian, have not reached this country, but the summary referred to is extremely interesting. Observations by Professor Schmidt, of Athens, and others, have shown that on the average a single observer will see about ten meteors per hour. This is a number which depends upon experiment simply. A single observer does not command the whole sky above his horizon, but only some 23 per cent. of it. Professor Newton, of Yale College, has shown that about 10,400 times as many meteors fall on the whole earth in an hour as fall so as to be visible above any one horizon. Combining these separate deductions, it follows that $10 \times 100 \times 10,400 \div 23$ (or about 450,000) meteors fall on the surface of the whole earth each hour. It is to be remembered, too, that only such meteors as would be visible to the naked eye are included in this enumeration. Every astronomer knows that there are vast quantities of extremely minute telescopic meteors in the heavens. One can hardly work for two or three hours without seeing at least one meteor in the very small field of view of the telescope. The number given above, then, is clearly a minimum. Prof. Alexander Herschel has shown that the average weight of a meteor may be taken as 5 grams; whence it follows that the earth receives hourly not less than 2,250 kilograms, or 4,950 pounds of foreign material, deposited upon it from the celestial spaces.

—The earth moves in its orbit with a velocity of about nineteen miles per second, and passes through an immense number of these meteorites. Doctor Kleiber's main object is to determine how many such bodies there are in space at the distance of the earth from the sun, or rather what is the density of the interstellar spaces, supposing these meteors to be uniformly distributed. 450,000 meteors fall on the earth, compelled by its attraction, every hour. He has shown that the earth's attraction is responsible for 20 per cent. of these, and that therefore 360,000 would be encountered in one hour by a globe the size of the earth provided such a globe had no attraction. As he says, "from this minimum value it may be seen how vast the number is of these small cosmical bodies; and that we must consider all of them together as a peculiar dust-like, interplanetary medium, which seems fit to play an important rôle in the economy of the solar system." By comparing the weight of these 360,000 meteors met in each hour with the space traversed by the earth in this time, it follows that the density of the interplanetary medium cannot be less than $\frac{1}{10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000}$ of the density of water. A Russian memoir by Doctor Keller has shown that the density of the interplanetary medium at any distance from the sun is inversely proportional to the square root of the distance. From this law, and from what has gone before, it

follows that the quantity of sunlight reflected from this cosmical dust cannot be less than $\frac{1}{5,000}$ of the light of the full moon. Observations of the light of the solar corona show that its brightness is not greater than that of the full moon. And hence the density of the interplanetary medium is not greater than $\frac{1}{1,000,000,000,000,000,000}$ of the density of water. If it were greater we should have a solar corona brighter than the full moon, which is contrary to experience. It is an important step to have fixed such limits as these even approximately, and there are various interesting applications of these data to pending astronomical problems, such as the effect of a resisting medium on comets, etc.; and to these Doctor Kleiber intends to return in a later paper.

PARLIAMENTARY RULES.

A Practical Manual of Parliamentary Rules, compiled for the ready reference of Societies, Conventions, Public Meetings, and Deliberative and Legislative Assemblies. By Ainsworth R. Spofford, Librarian of Congress. Chicago: A. H. Andrews & Co. 1884. 16mo, pp. 207.

THIS latest addition to parliamentary manuals is of great value, although it will not fully meet the hopes of its author. His aim is "to make a book of practical utility in the conduct of business in voluntary societies and public meetings," but it must be said that Cushing's 'Manual,' for so many years the standard authority, is much better adapted for the use of the bodies named. As we propose to show, Mr. Spofford's book is defective on the essential points, just where Cushing's is most precise and ample, and in reality is distinctly inferior to it. On the other hand, this new Manual is of value as giving a very good idea of the parliamentary law of Congress, especially of the House of Representatives; and its comparisons of American practice with British and French methods are very instructive and novel.

Parliamentary law is the common law of assemblies, based primarily on common sense, and secondly on the experience of centuries. Like the common law, it yields to positive statutes, but it must be presumed to exist and to govern in all cases where no direct rule has been adopted. For example, it is an axiom of parliamentary law that the majority rules. Again, no one disputes the principle that the major part of any body is usually a quorum, and that the majority of that quorum can in regular sessions act with the authority of the full body. It will be conceded that there must be a presiding officer with power to maintain order, and a recording officer to preserve minutes of all official action. No assembly can meet without a few such principles being of necessity operative, because without them the gathering is but a mob.

But, after these few natural rules, come many others which experience has shown to be of nearly equal importance, and these are now considered to be accepted as parliamentary law. Such are the rules that members shall be courteous to each other and refrain from personalities; that only one member shall speak at a time; that a subject once disposed of shall not be revived; and that a continuing assembly shall have a definite and well-known order of business, so that every member may know his rights. By a further refinement it has been found that a few general motions include all the possible variations, and parliamentary law undertakes to specify these and to prescribe their effects.

Thus, a motion having been made, it may not be in the best form or of sufficient scope; hence comes the idea of amending it. Again, the as-

sembly may or may not be ready to act; hence motions to table, to assign, or to vote at once. Debate may have continued sufficiently; or a member may wish to have a subject rejected. It may be desirable to reconsider former action, or to send a matter to a committee; and, lastly, the assembly may adjourn, either *sine die* or to its next meeting, without coming to any vote. Add to these the motion to suspend any formal rule of the body, and the motion of appeal from a decision of the chair, and the list will cover probably all parliamentary law of the highest force.

As a specimen of parliamentary law in its second stage, the motion for the previous question is of interest. It arose first as a motion to avoid putting the main subject to vote, and was as follows: "that the main question be put." If negatived, the main question was suppressed for the whole session of Parliament, without a vote on its merits. Sir Harry Vane is credited with the next form of the motion—"that the main question be now put"—which, if refused, suppressed that main question only for the day. The present form of the motion is the same, but it is used also to cut off other motions. Thus, A makes a motion, B moves an amendment, C moves to assign the matter or to commit it to a committee, D moves the previous question; if this be voted, the effect is to come to a vote on A's motion, cutting off those of B and C. But, by long-continued custom, B's amendment is not cut off, and is considered first: an apparent contradiction, which, however, seems to work well. Herein we see a rule evolved from its first stage, which was to prevent any putting of the question, next applied to stopping debate, and lastly used to check dilatory motions already made, but which, if put first, might be favored by the majority. Experience had taught the leaders the advantage of having the affirmative side of any vote.

The next step of Parliamentarians was to state what of these standard motions could be applied to each other. It was soon agreed that an amendment could be amended; but almost as soon it was decided that only one amendment to a pending amendment could be entertained. Then they required that an amendment should be germane to the subject matter. But it was ruled that a motion to lay on the table or take from the table could not be amended, postponed, or otherwise dealt with, because it was in itself a perfect, single act. A motion to postpone or assign to another hour or day, however, was obviously open to amendment to another date; but as these motions are applicable to the main subject, they cannot be applied to each other. If A makes a motion, and B moves to assign the consideration, and C moves to lay on the table, C's motion is to lay the whole subject there with the pending motions, all of which are of record. But C cannot move to lay B's motion on the table, because the latter is part of the main subject and applicable to it only.

One variation from the rule has been made quite recently. Under the law as above stated the previous question could not apply to any of the subsidiary motions; it affected only the main question. If an amendment was offered, no motion could be made to table, assign, commit, or reject the amendment alone, nor for the previous question on it alone. Yet an amendment often caused a long debate, and other members were afraid to move the previous question, as they had amendments to offer. Hence Congress (House of Representatives) has provided that the previous question may be called for, specially, on an amendment, so as to close debate and procure a vote at once on that amendment, leaving the main topic open for further amendment. So, again, recognizing possible varying shades

of opinion, some bodies, like the Massachusetts House of Representatives, have invented a motion to close debate at a fixed hour and minute, which motion ranks lower than that for the previous question, and does not order the *main* question to be put, free from pending motions to assign, commit, etc. It is of no tactical value, but simply stops debate.

It must be evident that all manuals must agree upon the main points of parliamentary law. The value of each treatise will therefore depend upon the clearness with which these principles are set forth, and the diligence with which difficult points are searched out and expounded. Since Cushing we have had "Warrington" (i.e., W. S. Robinson, Clerk of Mass. House of Representatives), Robert (Major Henry M.), and Fish (George T., of Rochester), the latter offering a system of references and diagrams not without value to the expert. But we cannot discover that Mr. Spofford's Manual is any improvement on these in plan or execution. He seems to consider the national House of Representatives to be the highest authority; but in fact its rules are often entirely unfit for smaller bodies, and a recital of them obscures the subject. For example, his eighth chapter, pp. 79-158, is devoted to the topic of Questions, i. e., Motions. Yet in no place does Mr. Spofford set forth a list of subsidiary or usual motions, such as Cushing's Manual gives on pp. 46-48. For popular use some such brief statement is of prime importance, for these are the first motions the presiding officer must decide.

Probably few errors will be found, though Spofford on p. 80 says, "It is a rule without exception that no one can address the chair or the meeting except to make a motion of some kind, or to speak upon a motion of some kind already before the body." This certainly avoids, if it does not negative, the point so often raised, that a member may speak before making his motion (see Cushing, 'Law of Parliamentary Bodies,' secs. 1557, 1558). Mr. Spofford does not in terms explain the question of a quorum under the rules of the House. If a quorum be present but does not vote, what happens? The House must have a practice if not a rule on this point, but we do not find it in this book.

The comments on the custom of Parliament and the French Chamber of Deputies are new and interesting. They fail, however, to show that "they manage these things better abroad." In fact, the English House of Commons found its rules utterly inadequate a few years ago, and was obliged to reconstruct them. The practice of our State Legislatures is probably much nearer a proper standard, and even our large cities have councils or assemblies of a size sufficient to call for considerable knowledge of parliamentary law. As an illustration, Spofford says (p. 153): "The motion to lay upon the table is among the most frequently offered motions in public assemblies. It is not amendable nor debatable." This may be true at Washington, but the Massachusetts House allows ten minutes' debate, and it would seem that the general law must be like that custom. In fact, in many bodies the motion to table is of very infrequent occurrence. The order of business established by an assembly soon settles the question of the tactical value of motions, and this affects their frequency. For many obvious reasons the practice of Congress is not a good rule for other bodies. It is useful for comparison, but it does not establish parliamentary law even for this country. A philosophic treatise on the subject is still to be written, and until one shall appear in which the conclusions on doubtful points are well fortified by reasoning, there can be no standard authority. It is to be hoped that this country may yet have the credit of furnishing the model.

A BALTIC REALIST.

Im Gottesländchen. Erzählungen aus dem Kur-ländischen Leben. Von Theodor Hermann Pantenius. Mitau. 1880-'81. 2 vols., pp. 267 and 276.

THE countries to the south of the Baltic, the North German lowlands and the Baltic provinces of Russia, have a well-marked and peculiar character. The long-drawn-out landscape, with here a heath, there a marsh or lake, further on immense stretches of slightly rolling grain-fields, with few low hills and no rocks, has a colder and sterner character than that of the Low Countries bordering on the North Sea. It is the home of a strong race with ways of its own. The soil is so rebellious to culture, the climate so hostile, that the mere struggle for existence would have occupied all the energies of a race inferior to this; but this one, though slow-growing, has always had strength to spare: witness, for example, that style of Gothic architecture which begins to be seen already at Hanover and Lüneburg, and dies away on the façade of the Schwartzhäupterhaus at Riga; which produced the great castle of the Knights of the Teutonic Order at Marienburg, and cities so fair as Lübeck and Danzig. The style is in general severe and somewhat deficient in grace, like the land and its owners, and when it bursts out into an exuberance of ornament, the result is rather grotesque than beautiful; but its better examples have a dignity, an individuality, a picturesqueness that place them in the first rank of German monuments.

To the southwest of the Baltic these lands have been gradually subdued to something like softness. Nowhere can finer beechwoods be seen than in East Holstein; the neighborhood of Lübeck often reminds one of parts of England; the fields of Mecklenburg prompt the fat laugh of Fritz Reuter. But as one goes on toward the east, the ungrateful nature of the soil becomes more and more evident; strange types of people often and oftener uncouth in costume and increasingly doubtful in respect of cleanliness appear, until in the Baltic provinces of Russia it is only along the coast that one finds a narrow border of the civilization of Germany, a little dulled in its outer aspects, and back of that an immense stretch occupied by Finns, Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians—peoples whose development is only beginning.

The traveller will remember seeing in this district towns in which are entire quarters where no one not born noble may build or live. The nobility and *bourgeoisie*, kept carefully apart from one another, are still equally of German origin; the peasants are separated from both, not only by barriers of caste, but also of race and language. The coast towns have the air and features of old-fashioned North German cities before the great Prussian machine had crushed the native individuality out of them; but one has only to take a short drive back into the country to find that, aside from a German *Hof* here and there, the houses and the people are utterly unlike anything in Western Europe. For ourselves, we have never been able to shape exactly in words the impression produced by these landscapes. There is no doubt that they are melancholy even when clothed in the tender green of early summer. Under the pale northern sky the thin vegetation stretches out for miles and miles in gentle undulations. The ragged edges of both roads and culture, the unkempt look of the farmsteadings, the meagre and antiquated utensils, the sad-colored, often squalid, costumes of the peasantry, have nothing of the hopeful rawness of our frontier settlements. They have rather the jaded look of centuries of bad management and poverty. An oppressed race, upon an un-

friendly soil, and in a rude climate, has for ages fought a battle for existence, not quite a losing one, but one where the gains have been but slight for all the courage and perseverance displayed. There is, of course, better and worse among these provinces, and it may be that the picture we have drawn is not of the best portions. Oppression is everywhere a thing of the past. The peasants, who were freed about half a century ago, have lately been working into the position of land-owners, and there are many signs of a new life and a better future.

For the hurried traveller these lands may seem to present but slight attractions, but to a closer examination there is no such thing as an uninteresting country. We are therefore glad to find in the author cited as the pretext of this article the means of a real and thorough acquaintance with one, at least, of the Baltic provinces.

The world that Pantenius opens to us is that of country life in Courland. There are the nobles on their estates with their bailiffs, gamekeepers, and other dependents, the *bourgeois* proprietor, the country doctor, parson and lawyers—all these of German blood; and the peasants, tenants, and owners, and servants, all these Letts. We had been told long ago that the nobles of the Baltic provinces were full to absurdity of the pride of caste, and, on the whole, in spite of the amiable and liberal examples whom he presents to us, Pantenius strongly bears out the charge. His principal characters are generally charming people, but we find the baronial head, as a rule, furnished with obsolete prejudices, and his manners too often of that Prussian type which, when scratched, reveals the drill sergeant. There is no suggestion of caricature. These are simply Germans of the good old types; banished from the brand-new empire, they still linger beyond the imperial frontier: like the art of their race, there is always in them, with a hundred admirable and noble qualities, a side of quaintness, even grotesqueness. Where there is grotesqueness in the characters of Pantenius it is merely because they are living and true. The author, of course, does not see it as we do—for that he would need to be a foreigner; but he is evidently conscious that his native Courland is a rich mine of individuality, and he works it as one who takes pleasure in his work. A long residence in the neighborhood of the Baltic brings home to us in a peculiar manner the fidelity of his portraits. The faces, the little turns of manner, the style in conversation, all are known to us, and we recognize them in the pages of our author as in a photograph. It is, then, the first of his qualities that, even to the last *comparse*, his figures are alive. You feel that you have met every one of them. With them it is as if you had actually visited Courland, had been made at home in every circle, had even taken part in family affairs. In this way the local questions, political and social, the cultivation of the soil, the relations even of given landlords and tenants, assume for you a personal importance. Of course, in a way, any novel that is at all good takes you for a while into its world. We mean to assert here that in this respect the novels of Pantenius have a peculiar force. It is long since any fictitious world has so impressed us with a sense of its reality. At this writing we can scarcely persuade ourselves that we have not recently come back from Courland with a store of fresh memories and a new circle of friends and acquaintances.

If the first quality of Pantenius be that he sets before us a living Courland, his first defect is part and parcel of the same. He has sought to portray his province on all its sides at once, and as a consequence you are sometimes led to wish that the people would talk a little more about their love affairs and their small passions, the naughty ones as well as the excusable, and just a

trifle less about the relations of Germans to Letts, nobles to *roturiers*, Courlanders to Russia and Germany. We would not intimate that the author falls into the unpardonable sin of didacticism; given the serious nature of the German race, it is quite probable that we get in these stories an even smaller proportion of talk on such topics than we should get in a week spent at Mitau. We are really instructed and, what is more, interested, and the essence of our complaint, if it be one at all, is that the realism of these novels, being German, is perhaps a shade too conscientious—that in works of art we might have hoped to be spared altogether what would in real life have made the heavier moments of our week in Mitau. The personages, moreover, have in themselves an interest so great, so absorbing, that we could wish that the force of the writer had been exclusively occupied with their development. However, the book was written by a Courlander for Courlanders, and for Courlanders who seem still to need the agitation of questions that to us are somewhat elementary; and, as we have said these conversations really help one to a better, understanding of country and people, and so we may conclude that, if there be a defect at all, it is at worst but the exaggeration of an excellence.

Since we are on the chapter of defects we will make a clean breast of them. Our author has a way of giving a likeness in a few strokes that reminds one of Dickens, the more so that there is with it something of the Dickens tendency to mark individuality by catchwords. An easy extension of this *Schablonensystem* makes an irritating blot upon the surface of one story, "Im Banne der Vergangenheit." The central idea, the mainspring of the story, is the suffering of the present generation in consequence of the mistakes and misdeeds of its forefathers. The theme, handled with a force that is truly tragic is denaturalized, to a certain extent, by the manner in which, at stated intervals, each character, in words recurring like the refrain of a song, pronounces himself under the curse of the past. The dignity of tragedy, as well as the verisimilitude, is impaired by a touch borrowed from the vaudeville.

The worst fault of all is the catastrophe of "Im Banne der Vergangenheit." The hero, Werner, a young man cast in the Hamlet mould, with his melancholy, his irresolutions and contradictions, and the beautiful Therese, a person of great charm and distinction, ought, in the circumstances in which they were placed, to have brought about the catastrophe solely by the joint working of their characters. The germs of a noble tragedy were all there, and needed only development. To end such a situation by a *deus ex machina* was certainly a failure in invention, such as one must often put up with in the settlement of the affairs of this world, but which one cannot pardon in a work of art amenable to human reason in its composition.

But how nobly these faults are redeemed! In fact, they scarcely count at all in the general effect. The pleasure of knowing so intimately one's new acquaintances—of finding them all so full of life, so individual—makes one forget that on occasion they may, like other people, say too much about a given subject, or that their end is sometimes different from what one might have wished. We fear it will be long before we make the acquaintance in fiction of a person so charming as Tante Evchen. You learn to know her solely from her own sayings; there is no explanation of her, so that we misunderstood her in the beginning and then came to love her, just as we should have done in the every-day world. We love, too, Karl Johanson and Eberhard; we are fascinated with the Countess Westerberg; and we are sure that we ought to like the wise and wordy Senator, and are sorry that we can-

not. But most of all we like the Count in "Unser Graf"—to our mind the most complete as a work of art of the four stories that make up the two slender volumes. One expects to find a man so universally praised full of faults, and so he is: very humanly faulty, however, so that one yields to the force of the charm that has subdued every one else. It is only when the author gives in to the temptation to create a personage to give utterance to his favorite principles, as in the case of the Senator, that he fails to touch our sympathy. The case, however, is of extreme rarity. The portraiture is generally of so impartial a realism, and yet, though the wrinkles are all drawn, the relief is so full, so vigorous, that the result is almost an illusion. It would not be easy in our English literature to find a parallel to so much impartiality. We might instance figures like Christina Light in "Roderick Hudson," but in general the novelists of our tongue show very plainly whether their sympathies are for or against the creatures of their art. Even Thackeray points the finger at Becky Sharpe, and George Eliot does not hide her conviction that Hetty is but a poor creature. But here are people, perhaps not on the same level as creations, who stand so alone by themselves that it would often be easy for two readers to take exactly opposite views of their characters. In judging them, we feel that we are judging, not words, or actions, or principles, but flesh and blood.

We have repeatedly asked ourselves with what group Pantenius might be classed—what were his nearest literary relationships. As chance would have it, we read his volumes between a novel of Zola and "I Promessi Sposi" of Manzoni. The latter has nowadays (more's the pity!) no very near kin. It helps, however, to give largeness to our view of the things of to-day, if we put them into direct comparison with the things of the past; and Manzoni has served in this case very much the purpose that might be served by putting a landscape of Corot into the Square Room of the Louvre. All that makes the work of Corot distinctively modern and French would be thrown into relief by the contrast. To put Pantenius into relation with Manzoni would, however, at present lead us too far. With Zola a comparison would be more legitimate, as Pantenius seems to have studied contemporary "naturalism" in France, although, by the conventions of the society in which he lives, and the exigencies of his nature, he is not naturalist, but realist, like the writers of our tongue. The two classes have been confounded, but they are in fact far from being the same thing. A more serious Jane Austen, a somewhat profounder Anthony Trollope, a Thackeray who should take the wrongs and foibles of society in a spirit of hopeful philosophy, would all have more or less direct kindred with Pantenius. It is not a question of putting the one in the same rank with the others—it is merely a question of affinities. With all this, our author still remains always a German in qualities of race, while in all that gives local coloring he is—and this he would probably prefer to be considered—a true Courlander, and the most amiable and charming of *ciceroni* to that interesting country.

PERRY'S AMERICAN EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The History of the American Episcopal Church. 1587-1883. By Wm. Stevens Perry, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Iowa. [Projected by Clarence F. Jewett.] Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1885.

BISHOP PERRY'S history is conspicuous in the crowd of ecclesiastical histories that have lately issued from the press, and is the most ambitious of them all. It is in two superb quarto volumes

of 665 and 696 pages, printed upon beautiful paper, in handsome, broad-faced type, with generous margins. There are many illustrations, some of them very interesting—faces of distinguished men and pictures of old churches. There are also hundreds of facsimile autographs and facsimiles of various important documents referred to in the text. The method of the work is similar to that of the monograph "History of Boston." But in the present case the body of the history is from a single hand, while the monographs are relegated to an appendix of about 200 pages in the first volume, and a little more than 200 pages in the second.

Bishop Perry's 950 pages afford a capital illustration of Carlyle's distinction between artist and artisan history. The Bishop's work is conspicuously of the latter kind. Everywhere there is evidence of the utmost industry and patience and fidelity in the collection of materials and the interpretation of the various tendencies at work in the development of the Church. He can have found his place no sinecure, adding a task like this to his habitual cares, and he deserves the gratitude of his fellow-churchmen in full measure for its performance. But if he cherished the ambition of Macaulay, to make his history "as interesting as a novel," he certainly has not succeeded. He has made it generally dull. That he has not assimilated his materials is impressed upon us from the beginning to the end. Roxbury pudding-stone is not so full of pebbles as these chapters are full of quotations, and they make a constant friction for the reader's mind. The temper of the book is conciliatory in the main, so far as different parties in the Church are concerned. In the ritualistic controversy the author takes refuge in the barest and meagrest matter-of-fact statement. But his sympathy with Doctor Muhlenberg in the "Memorial Controversy" of 1855 is undisguised, and is not easily reconciled with the strictness of his churchmanship in general. The tone of advocacy and apology is dominant throughout, but of belligerency there is very little. The relations of the Churchmen and the Puritans is most trying to Bishop Perry's patience. He cannot love the Puritans, but his treatment of them is the milk of human kindness as compared with Doctor Coit's monograph on the same subject. It is not a little strange that Doctor Coit was chosen for this topic, as his temper had been already proved. His monograph is a screed, a diatribe, which can be profitably skipped. Its heat and passion come upon us all the more disagreeably after Mr. Robert C. Winthrop's dispassionate monograph, "The Relations of the Founders of the Massachusetts Colony to the Church of England." What Doctor Coit will have it was a vile apostasy, Mr. Winthrop is disposed to think a necessity of the general situation of the colonists in a new world, where bishops were remote and prayer-books were but few.

Bishop Perry's first volume brings his ecclesiastical annals to the conclusion of the Revolutionary War. His chapters on the relations of early discovery and settlement to the Church of England are merely curious. They may please a certain vanity, but the events so patiently unearthed had no appreciable influence upon the subsequent direction of ecclesiastical affairs. The succeeding chapters on the first Churchmen in New England, Virginia, and the Middle States are of much more importance. Bishop Perry is not disposed to allow that his own Church was without its earnest pioneers, willing, if need be, to suffer for their faith, and having frequent opportunity. Other interesting chapters in the first volume are those on "Governor Andros and the Building of King's Chapel, Boston"; "The Wesleys and George Whitefield, Missionaries of the Church in Georgia"; "The Struggle for the

Episcopate"; and "The Position of the Clergy at the Opening of the War for Independence." The last-named of these subjects has ever been unsavory to the American Episcopalian of more recent times. But Bishop Perry makes it plain that all the Episcopalians of the Revolutionary time were not Tories. In Pennsylvania the prevailing sentiment was revolutionary. In New York "the influence of the leading clergy was most patiently and perseveringly exercised in the interests of the crown. . . . These gifted, keen, intelligent men were untiring in their efforts to counteract the wild schemings for independence manifested by the people of Massachusetts." Samuel Seabury, the ablest of them all, was the "Westchester Farmer" of the celebrated pamphlet war in which Alexander Hamilton, then a boy of eighteen in King's College, first made his mark. He had been to Boston, and had come back a convert to the doctrines of the Sons of Liberty. Seabury remained a royalist all through the war; and the fact that he was the first bishop consecrated when the war was over, is significant of the average political state of mind of his coreligionists in New England and New York. It is evident that Provoost, the patriot rector of Trinity, New York, was the favorite of a much smaller party.

Bishop Perry begins his second volume with an account of the men and measures of the period of reorganization that was made necessary by the successful termination of the war for independence. The Church had lost its royal head, but it could now have the bishops it had so long desired in vain. Seabury, refused consecration in England, secured it in Scotland; but White of Pennsylvania and Provoost of New York were soon after consecrated at Lambeth. Provoost, who was by no means anxious to make the American Church an exact transcript of the English Church, is not a favorite with Bishop Perry. It is evident that the laxity of his theological opinions was a trait of many Churchmen of his time. Our historian describes the type as "a theology raised but a little above the level of morality in its human bearings, and barely exceeding the teachings of natural religion in its relations to God." In practice "the level of morality" was not always reached. Bishop Provoost's proposed prayer-book gave particular offence because it required the minister "to repel an evil liver from the holy table." This proposed prayer-book, which was finally rejected, is the subject of a chapter, and there are other chapters on the principles underlying the Church Constitution of 1789, on several of the earlier episcopates, on the different parties in the Church and its expansion South and West. Only a few pages are given to the influence of the Oxford Tractarian Movement on the American Church, and, in truth, it was but slight. The next chapter must have been a painful one to write, and a paragraph would have been sufficient for the ends of justice. It treats of "Troubles in Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey," the Onderdonk trials for drunkenness and lechery, and Bishop Doane's unfortunate financial management. The mantle of charity is made as broad as possible, but there is a margin which it does not cover.

"The Attitude of the Church during the Civil War" is disposed of in seven pages. Of its attitude on the questions leading up to it there is not a word. The hardest things that have been said against the Episcopal Church for its complaisance in the matter of slavery are less damaging than this dreadful silence. The word slavery does not occur. That there was such a thing in existence; that the country was distracted by it for thirty years—of this no sign. Words having come to blows, Bishop Perry is happy to record the general refusal of the Church to take any

part in the great struggle. The only exceptions were a day of fasting with a collection for the Sanitary Commission, and "the pastoral of 1862," which "stands alone among our Church 'state papers' in respect to its declaration of opinion on matters of a civil nature." What the opinion was, we are not told. In the special prayers ordained for the day of "fasting and humiliation," it is noticeable that there is no reference to the matter of slavery, though Lincoln's first Emancipation Proclamation had been published only two weeks before. The chapter on "The Reunion of the North and South" is equally discreet in its avoidance of all expressions that might give offence to those whose sympathies were with slavery and secession. But in these respects Bishop Perry's chapters are in perfect keeping with the general attitude of his Church throughout the anti-slavery contest and the war. Like the spirits whom Dante encountered in the outer court of hell, it was "neither for God nor for his enemies."

There are eight monographs in the first volume and eleven in the second. They constitute the more interesting and valuable portion of the whole. Of Mr. Winthrop's and Doctor Coit's we have already spoken. Mr. DeCosta's, on "The Early Discoveries and Settlements of the New England Coast," is a polemic exaggeration of the function of Gorges and Hakluyt as compared with the Pilgrims and the Puritans. Prof. Moses Coit Tyler has a congenial subject in "Dean Berkeley's Sojourn in America," and treats it pleasantly. The seventh monograph, so called, is in reality a polygraph, for it is made up of fifteen brief monographs on "Historic Churches." The eighth also is composite; its subject being "The Church Charities of the Eighteenth Century." One of these was the Orphan House at Bethesda, Georgia, to which Whitefield contributed the proceeds of the slave-labor of a plantation which had been given him by his pious friends.

The monographs in the second volume are of unequal interest. To vary Mr. Lincoln's phrase a little, for those who like such a discussion as that on the "General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the American Church," it is just the sort of discussion they will like. It is good after its kind. Probably no other person could have done the thing so well. Mr. Wittmeyer's monograph on the Huguenots does not tell the story of Ribault and Menendez so well as Mr. Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World," but it demonstrates that the early Huguenots were in closer fellowship with the Episcopal Church than with the Dutch Reformed and Presbyterian. Bishop Provoost came of this stock, and Peter Faneuil of Boston. Mr. Phillips Brooks's monograph on "A Century of Church Growth in Boston" is not such impressive reading as his sermons, but it gives the facts and figures well enough, and is enriched with several pictures of his church. One, of the tower, is by all odds the most beautiful illustration in the two volumes. His closing sentence contains an expression of his own ideal, made that of many others by his genius and sincerity: "A lofty belief in man's spiritual possibilities, a large hope for man's eternal destinies, a desire for the careful and critical study of the Bible, and an earnest insistence upon the comprehensive character of the Church of Christ." There is a monograph of monographs on the educational institutions of the Church; one on "The Church in the Confederate States," written with less consideration for Northern than for Southern sentiments, and with none for General Butler's feelings. Mr. Henry Coppée writes of the literary Churchmen of the ante-Revolutionary period with an instructed air, and Mr. Julius H. Ward of "Church Literature since the Revolution," with the broadest sympathies. He re-

serves his final word of praise for Dr. A. V. G. Allen's "Continuity of Christian Thought," a book which Dean Stanley would have found encouraging and satisfactory. The concluding monograph, on "The Hymnology of the Church," is generally depressing. There is an excellent index. The proofs throughout have not been read so carefully as they should have been, especially in the matter of dates.

A Dictionary of Music and Musicians. Edited by Sir George Grove. Part 20. Macmillan.

This part of Grove's Dictionary, presumably the last but one, extends from "Tis the Last Rose" to "(Die) Verschworenen." Tchaikovsky is very inadequately treated, so that "Verdi" is the only long biographical article (fifteen pages). Among the technical subjects, the following are of special importance: Toccata, Tonal Fugue, Tone, Tonic Sol-Fa, Touch, Transposition, Treatment of the Organ, Tremolo, Trio, Trombone, Trumpet, Tuning, Turn, United States, University Societies, Variations, Vaudeville. In Dr. C. H. H. Parry's contributions on "Variations" and "Trio," the reader will find, as usual, the clearest and most impartial treatment of the subject in hand; while Mr. W. H. Stone's contributions represent the other extreme of misstatement and prejudiced suppression of interesting facts. In the article on "Trio," Doctor Parry briefly characterizes the works of this class by the leading composers, but omits all mention of the most poetic trio ever written—namely, Chopin's. Mr. Stone makes the entirely original statements that Mozart "seems to have known the capabilities of every instrument better than any musician that ever lived"; that "no instrument has been so misused and neglected by modern composers as the trombone" (!), and that "the quiet, smooth, legato method of using it is almost a lost art." It is useless to refute such statements at length, for every tyro knows that it remained for Berlioz and Wagner to develop fully the capabilities of wind, and especially brass, instruments; but these composers are not mentioned either under "Trombone" or "Trumpet," whereas Handel and Mendelssohn, whom no one has ever accused of unusual powers in orchestrating, are of course duly considered.

How completely these two second-rate composers still dominate over English musical life, is shown in the article on that peculiar English system of notation called the Tonic Sol-Fa—the benefits of this system being naïvely summed up by referring to "the many hard-working people all over the world who have thus been taught, in a simple way, to enter into the enjoyment of the music of Handel or Mendelssohn." The statement is made that 39,000 copies of the "Messiah" have been sold printed in this notation; that one firm has printed in the same way 16,000 pages of music; and that 80 per cent. of the children in English primary schools, who are taught to sing by note at all, learn on this plan, which has also been introduced in the English colonies. Such a thing is only possible in a nation which cultivates the oratorio almost exclusively, and worships Handel and Mendelssohn as the highest gods. Nations not exclusively addicted to simple oratorio music will never accept this notation, because as soon as complicated music is used, which frequently changes its key, the advantages of this system are lost. To instrumental music it is not applicable, thus necessitating the learning of two systems. The Sol-Fa is, in fact, a modernized form of a mediæval system that was crowded out in the struggle for existence by the staff notation, which is infinitely superior to Sol-Fa because it gives to the eye a sensuous representation of the rising and falling of tones.

It appears as if Doctor Grove had been some-

what careless in editing the present part of his dictionary. In the article just named, C is referred to as "a certain white key lying between two black keys" on the piano. The word Nibelungen is repeatedly misspelt "Niebelungen." Regarding Doctor Tourgée, we are told that "he is at present in robust health, and it is to be hoped that his useful life may be spared for long"—a statement which hardly seems in place in a musical dictionary. The greatest surprise, however, is reserved for the reader in the article on Verdi. The writer, who seems to be an Italian, asserts with reference to Wagner that "Paris has notoriously shut her ears to him, and New York appears as yet not to have heard one of his operas"! Such ignorance may be pardonable in an Italian, but is not in the editor, for whose benefit we will state that "Tannhäuser" and "Lohengrin" were first heard in New York twenty-six and fifteen years ago respectively; that "Lohengrin" has since that date been given almost every year; that the "Flying Dutchman" and "Die Walküre" are also known here; and that at the past season of German opera at the Metropolitan Opera-house twenty-five performances out of fifty-eight were devoted to Wagner. The writer of the article in question chuckles through several columns over the fact that "amongst living composers Verdi is undoubtedly the most universally popular"—which is notoriously untrue, since in Paris Meyerbeer and Gounod are more often performed, and in Germany (the only country that has a large number of first-class opera-houses) Wagner, Meyerbeer, Mozart, Lortzing, and Weber outrank Verdi in popularity; while New York, as just shown, seems disposed to follow Paris and Germany.

Two of the most entertaining articles in Part 20 are on Touch and on Tourte. In the former it is clearly shown why "all the higher qualities of pianoforte technique, such as crispness, delicacy, expression, sonority, etc., depend entirely upon touch"; and the writer justly maintains, against Mr. Orlando Steed, that it is possible to vary even the quality or timbre by differences in touch, owing to differences produced in the intensity of certain partial tones of which any given note is composed. Regarding the organ, the writer says that: "Until recent times, touch was an impossibility upon large organs. Burney, in his tour, in 1772, speaks of a touch so heavy that 'each key requires a foot instead of a finger to press it down'; again, of a performance by a M. Binder at Dresden, who at the conclusion was in as violent a heat with fatigue and exertion as if he had run eight or ten miles full speed over ploughed fields in the dog days."

What a good touch is on a keyed instrument good bowing is on instruments of the violin family; and in this matter the world owes so much to the French bow-maker Tourte, that the three columns assigned to him here are no more than his due. He replaced the "fearful implement" in use before his day by a bow of Pernambuco wood, which was strong and elastic without being heavy. He regulated the length of the stick, determined the rule for making it taper gradually toward the point, and invented the method of spreading the hairs and attaching them by means of a movable metal fitting on a slide of mother-of-pearl. "A very fine Tourte has been recently sold for £30; common ones vary in price from £5 to £10. It is a singular fact that there is no difference of opinion among violinists as to Tourte's merits. His bows are universally preferred to all others; and they show no signs of wearing out."

Mind Reading and Beyond. By William A. Hovey. Boston: Lee & Shepard.
EXTRACTS from the published Proceedings of the

(English) Society for psychical Research, in the matter of thought transference, make up nine-tenths of this little book. The reprint is a convenient condensation of the part of that Society's published work, and is illustrated with reproductions of the facsimile drawings of the original. To those who would like to understand what has been done, with the precautions used against accidental errors or intentional deception, Mr. Hovey's compilation presents within easy compass all that is valuable. The "Beyond," in this case, is the last chapter, of twenty pages, which is the author's personal contribution to the general theme. It is in substance this argument: that the body in no true sense is the man—that the man is the soul; that the body certainly dies, and that the man probably lives after the body's death; that it is not incredible that the soul or spirit should project itself beyond its own body during life, as, indeed, he thinks the telepathic phenomena he has collected prove; and when disembodied at death, being thus freed from physical trammels, a *fortiori* it almost certainly possesses such power. We may very honestly hold that there are spirits, ministering or otherwise, not in the flesh. But it does not seem that Mr. Hovey's reasoning settles it; for it by no means follows that the human spirit has the power of communication after separation from the body, any more than that an arm can strike after its nervous trunks have been severed. It is probable that the union of the spirit with the flesh is essential for the manifestation of the former; and as, for instance, physical agents are necessary to demonstrate electricity, so brain substance is required for the operation of mind.

The book is well made, but in the decoration on the cover, interesting when understood, sarcastic sceptics might see a suggestion of expectant credulity.

The English School of Painting. By Ernest Chesneau. Translated by L. N. Etherington, with preface by Professor Ruskin. Cassell & Co.

Roadside Songs of Tuscany, translated and illustrated by Francesca Alexander, and edited by John Ruskin. Part 5. John Wiley & Sons.

WE had occasion to review the original edition of Chesneau's study of English art, and have only to say of this translation of it into English that it is careful without being faithful, for it misses the spirit of the original and almost justifies what Ruskin said in one of his lectures, that the French language was that of criticism. It is, however, literal, and, in spite of an awkward rendering here and there, will, to those who cannot read the original, convey all the essential elements.

But what enhances the interest of this edition for English readers is the preface by Professor Ruskin, and two or three notes to the text, in which he introduces his French confrère to the English public in a generous and appreciative spirit, which is really characteristic of one side of the many-sided—and many-angled—English master. The chief point in this brief preface is curiously illustrative of Ruskin's general error in reference to art, lying in the assertion that "every nation is, in a certain sense, a judge of its own art, from whose decision there is no appeal: in the common sense of the phrase, it 'knows what it likes,' and is only capable of producing what it likes"—a dictum which can only be made plausible by putting the theme which is made the occasion of art before art itself; and, even so, it is of disputable justice. A nation chooses and rejoices in its own subjects of contemplation, taken, in the main, from its own social structure or history; but the art which is employed in portraying those sub-

jects is the same for all nations, and liked or disliked, not according to nationality or individuality, but according to art education. It is this confusion between art and the material with which art deals that lies at the base of the apparent, and sometimes real, contradictions in Ruskin's teaching, and which in part accounts for his failure as an art teacher. This failure he himself sadly acknowledges, not appreciating, apparently, that when his pupils came to him for art instruction he only taught them drawing, and even that in a way which ignored the side by which art approaches it—*style*—to which he seems utterly indifferent.

One statement in reference to Turner in this preface we do not comprehend, coming from Professor Ruskin, or accept as a fact by whom ever stated, viz., that "Turner is essentially a chiaroscuroist." It seems to us, on the contrary, that though Turner had a singular and singularly artistic feeling for light and shade, he was essentially a colorist, and that in all his work the dictates of his color feeling absolutely ruled his color works. He was only a chiaroscuroist when his picture was designed for white and black, as in the 'Liber Studiorum' and the pictures of the epoch which preceded the evolution of his system of color. In the pictures subsequent to that, he is essentially a colorist, and the proof of this lies in the fact that though he himself was able to translate this color into his own chiaroscuro, nobody else has ever been able to do so, and no engraving done since Turner's death has hit the secret of his translation. In all the drawings which Turner did expressly for the engraver, the color-feeling was necessarily subordinate; but in all that he did under the control of his fully developed powers, the white and black does not enter as a motive. Rembrandt was essentially a chiaroscuroist, and his system of light and shade is ever dominant; and the comparison of the two will make it clear that Turner in his most developed work was essentially a colorist. To illustrate by an analogy in letters, we may say that Emerson, though a writer of verse, was essentially a prose writer, and Shelley as essentially a versifier; the basis of all literature—ideas—being a constant quantity and really the substantial frame of the whole work, whereas the designation of prose writer or versifier, as well as chiaroscuroist or colorist, relates purely to the form in which the idea is clothed, and in this relation Turner is not so eminently distinguished as chiaroscuroist as he is as colorist.

The want of perception of the value of style in drawing, which is a curious and perplexing trait of Ruskin's perceptions of art, accounts for his enthusiasm for Miss Alexander's work, of which one of the most justly eminent English artists has said, "We can excuse Ruskin's not believing in Michael Angelo, but not his believing in Miss Alexander." Miss Alexander's work has a most extraordinary precision and methodical quality of pen-line. It is like excellent Dutch engraving—patient, plodding, exact in outline and light and shade. Her drawing of flowers is altogether exquisite (for line work) as well as naïve and self-taught, and hence original as far as drawing can be original to a woman almost brought up in a studio, and familiar all her life with Italian art. But when it is a question of anything but flowers, it is artless in every sense of the word. She delights in compositions of the figure which certainly have the qualification of naïveté, but which are pure and even exaggerated *pose plastique*, without the slightest knowledge of human structure; for her figures are oftentimes heads, hands, and feet put on to sacks and bundles, the hands and heads drawn with the delicacy she gives her flowers, but with no other intention than the flowers. As for the composition and what most people who study art regard as its higher quali-

ties, the naïveté becomes simple childishness. Of these "lovely drawings," one of which is rendered in this number, Professor Ruskin says, they "are to my mind the most joyful, because most credible, sacred designs I ever yet saw"—in which statement we find again the repetition of the confusion before noticed between art and the verisimilitude of story-telling; a confusion which not only paralyzes all Ruskin's art teaching, but separates him in opinion and influence from the great body of artists and genuine art-teachers, to the injury of all concerned. It is worse than useless to link art to pietism; for however desirable it might be for the good of humanity to bind out art as the handmaid of religion, even the broadest, it could only succeed in diminishing the power for good of the one and the capacity for delight of the other. Even to science art has no obligation, nor, except incidentally, any relation; and its freedom and highest capabilities are instantly sacrificed when we insist on making it work on the lines of determined and absolute facts. The fact that Professor Ruskin finds his highest satisfaction in a work of art in the credibility of the design as an historical statement, demonstrates anew what we have always maintained, that in his view of things art is subordinated to, or confounded with, the moralities and naturalism. It may be that it would have been better for the world if it were so, but in fact the world was made a long time ago, and, we begin to find out, not on the same lines as the church; and while it may give a great shock to the sentiment of morality to learn that the most obscene art of Pompeii contains precisely the same æsthetic elements as the most devout art of the middle ages (and probably in much larger degree, on account of its entire freedom from any restraint of the school-house), any study or teaching of art which does not recognize that it is so, will never operate from the fundamental principles of all art, on which alone a genuine school can be founded.

In admitting that morality is more important than art, and that science even has claims before it, we do not, therefore, accept any implication of its being in service to the one or the other. Art lends the faculties it has trained to the needs of education in any sphere of human thought—science, moral or social reform, as to hagiolatry

or idolatry—as poetry might do and has done; but those faculties are merely the organs of expression, and the ideals which in art's supreme work are expressed by them are not those of morality or science any more than of idolatry or obscenity, but are its own, not to be confounded with any utilities, moralities, or immoralities. The end of art is the ideal—not nature, or history, or religion.

The Microscope in Botany: a Guide for the Microscopical Investigation of Vegetable Substances. From the German of Dr. Julius Wilhelm Behrens. Translated and edited by Rev. A. B. Hervey, A.M., assisted by R. H. Ward, M.D., F.R.M.S. Boston: S. E. Cassino & Co. Illustrated, 8vo, pp. xv, 466.

THIS translation of the well-known work of Doctor Behrens will be a very welcome handbook for students of microscopical botany. The principal American editor, Mr. Hervey, is known for his valuable contributions to the knowledge of the Algæ, while his assistant, Doctor Ward, is among the best-known experts in microscopical technique. They have been able, therefore, to make a division of labor which gives good results in both parts of the book. In the original, Doctor Behrens disclaims any purpose of making an exhaustive treatise upon the construction of the microscope, or of entering the proper domain of structural botany. He has given such a general description of the microscope and its accessories as will suffice for an intelligent command of its resources in actual investigation, and has made his strong point in a somewhat full treatment of the reagents most useful in the examination of vegetable substances, and of the tests for the principal substances themselves. When to this is added full instructions in the most approved methods of manipulation in this department of botanical work, the book becomes a really useful tool-book for the investigator.

The American edition differs most from the original in the first part, where very considerable changes and additions have been made. In the description of the microscope stand, Behrens naturally followed the Continental models. Doctor Ward, in adapting the work to American students, has substituted in his illustrations and de-

scriptions the best of the simpler forms of American instruments, in which economy of cost has been successfully united with good workmanship, and with advantages generally found in European instruments of none but the more expensive class. He has added, also, a host of ingenious devices in accessories and in implements, which make the book one of the very best in this respect that have appeared. In the portions relating to the discrimination of substances by means of chemical reagents, there was less room for addition to the labors of Behrens, but Mr. Hervey has noted many of the suggestions of other recent experiments which bring the work down to date. The mechanical execution of the volume is excellent, and the illustrations are well drawn and engraved. Where the additions by the translator and his assistant editor have been incorporated into the text, they are marked by brackets and initials, so that no confusion between the original and the addenda is likely to arise.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

- Alden, W. L. *The Adventures of Jimmy Brown.* Illustrated. Harper & Brothers.
 Smith, Mary Stuart. *Virginia Cookery Book.* Harper & Brothers.
 Stewart, Prof. B., and Gee, W. W. H. *Lessons in Elementary Practical Physics.* Vol. I. General Physical Processes. Macmillan & Co. \$1.50.
 Stoddard, Dr. J. T. *Outline of Lecture Notes on General Chemistry.* Boston: Harris, Rogers & Co. \$1.
 Taylor, H. *His Autobiography.* 1800-1875. In 2 vols. Harper & Brothers.
 The Book Annexed to the Report of the Joint Committee on the Book of Common Prayer, as Modified by the Action of the General Convention of 1883. E. & J. B. Young & Co. Also, James Pott & Co.
 The Power and Authority of School Officers and Teachers, as Determined by the Courts of the Several States. Harper & Bros.
 Thomann, G. *Liquor Laws of the United States; their Spirit and Effect.* United States Brewers' Association.
 Towle, G. M. *England and Russia in Asia.* With Maps. Boston: J. B. Osgood & Co.
 Trautmann, Prof. M. *Die Sprachlaute im Allgemeinen, und die Laute des Englischen, Französischen und Deutschen im Besondern.* Leipzig: Gustav Fock.
 Treat, Mary. *Home Studies in Nature.* Illustrated. Harper & Bros.
 Van Orden, W. H. *Famous People of All Ages.* A. L. Burt. 50 cents.
 Vasil, Paul. *Die Wiener Gesellschaft.* Leipzig: H. Le Soulier; New York: Westermann. \$1.90.
 Waring, G. E., Jr. *How to Drain a House; Practical Information for Householders.* Henry Holt & Co. \$1.25.
 Walcker, E. *Richard Cobden's Volkswirtschaftliche und Politische Ansichten.* Hamburg: Nestler & Melle.
 Wells, H. P. *Fly-Rods and Fly-Tackle: Suggestions as to their Manufacture and Use.* Illustrated. Harper & Bros.
 Wendell, B. *The Duchess Emilia: a Romance.* Boston: J. R. Osgood & Co.
 Williams, G. W. *History of the Negro Race in America, from 1619 to 1880.* Popular edition, two vols. in one. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$4.
 Wilson, J. *Thoughts on Science, Theology, and Ethics.* Trübner & Co.

New Books.

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